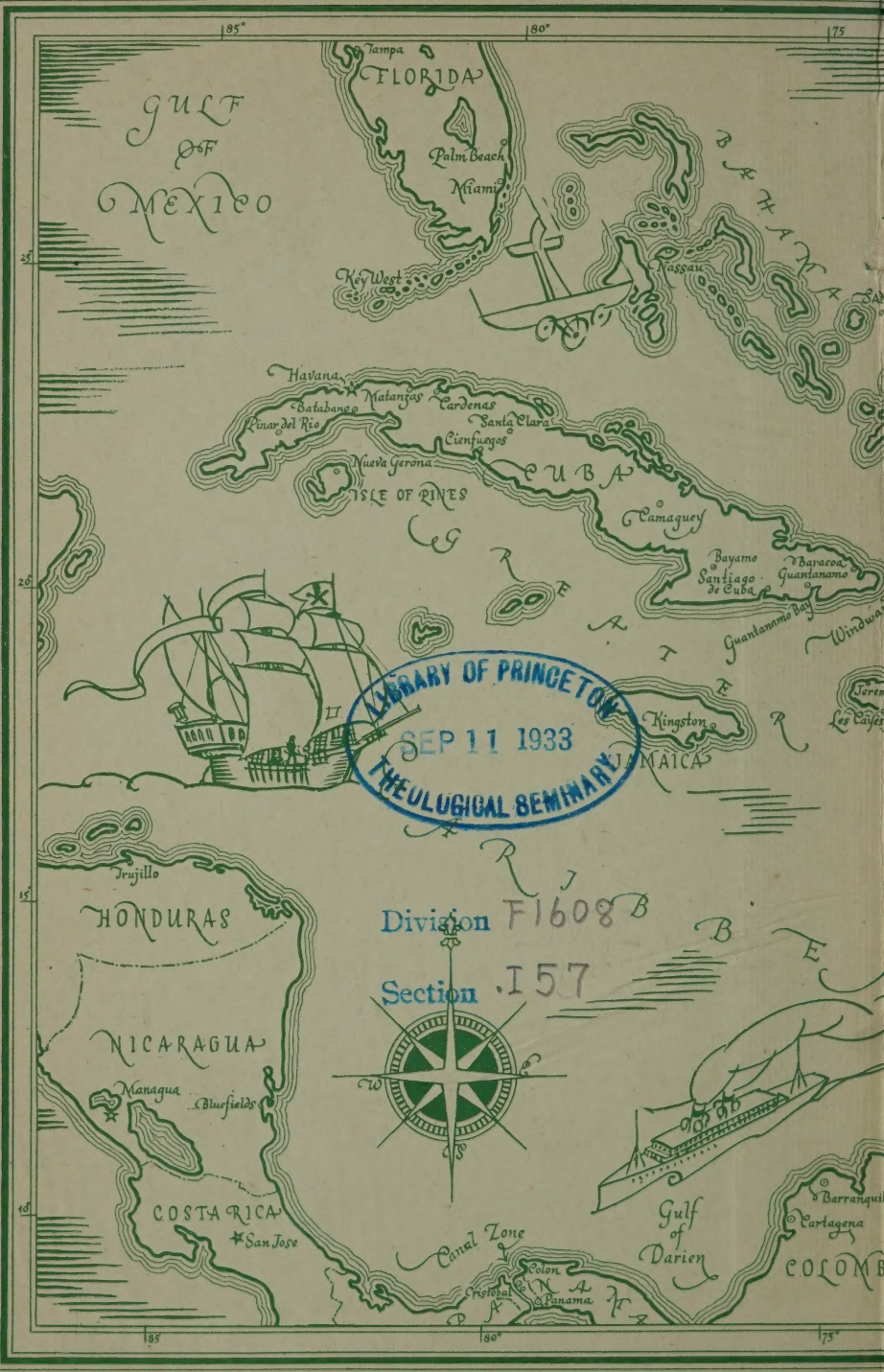
TRAILING THE CONQUISTADORES

SAMUEL GUY INMAN



LIBRARY OF PRINCETON
SEP 11 1933
THEOLOGICAL SEMINARY

Division F1608 B
Section .I57

The CARIBBEAN ISLANDS
Scale in Miles
0
100
300
400
70°
65°
60°
25°
20°
15°
10°
TURKS I.
Cap Haitien
Monte Christi
Puerto Plata
Santiago
Moca
San Francisco de Macoris
Santa Barbara
Bay of Samara
La Vega
Cotui
Hinche
St Marc
DOMINICAN REPUBLIC
Seibo
Banica
Azua
Santo Domingo
La Romana
Port au Prince
Barahona
San Pedro de Macoris
Aguadilla
Mayaguez
Arecibo
San Juan
Santurce
Rio Piedras
Fajardo
Huinacao
Ponce
San German
MONA
PORTO RICO U.S.
VIRGIN ISLANDS U.S.
CULEBRA
TORTOLA Br.
ST. JOHN
ST. THOMAS
VIEQUES
Christiansted
ST. CROIX
Frederiksted
ST. EUSTATIUS Du.
ST CHRISTOPHER Br.
NEVIS Br.
ANTIGUA Br.
MONTSERRAT Br.
GUADELOUPE Fr.
DOMINICA Br.
MARTINIQUE Fr.
ST. LUCIA Br.
BARBADOS Br.
ST. VINCENT Br.
GRENADA Br.
TOBAGO Br.
TRINIDAD Br.
Port of Spain
LEEWARD ISLANDS
WINDWARD ISLANDS
LESSER ANTILLES
CURACAO Du.
La Guaira
Caracas
VENEZUELA

TRAILING THE CONQUISTADORES

BOOKS BY SAMUEL GUY INMAN

TRAILING THE CONQUISTADORES

INTERVENTION IN MEXICO

SOUTH AMERICA TODAY

PROBLEMS IN PAN AMERICANISM

THROUGH SANTO DOMINGO AND HAITI

VENTURES IN INTER-AMERICAN FRIENDSHIP

HACIA LA SOLIDARIDAD AMERICANA

TRAILING THE CONQUISTADORES

LIBRARY OF PRINCETON
SEP 11 1933
THEOLOGICAL SEMINARY

By

SAMUEL GUY INMAN

SECRETARY COMMITTEE ON COOPERATION IN LATIN AMERICA
INSTRUCTOR INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS, COLUMBIA UNIVERSITY

NEW YORK
FRIENDSHIP PRESS

COPYRIGHT, 1930, BY
G. Q. LE SOURD

Printed in the United States of America

CONTENTS

I. THE CRADLE OF AMERICA 1
Early Conquest—On to the Continent.

II. THE WHITE MAN'S BURDEN 25
Gold Fleets and Pirates—Buccaneers—Enter the United States—Patriotism and Morals.

III. THE NEW CARIBBEAN 48
Caribbean Capitals—Journeying Across the Islands—Unity in the West Indies.

IV. THE DANCE OF THE MILLIONS . . . 78
Cuba and the Platt Amendment—Sugar Dominates—Moral Responsibilities.

V. THE CURSE ON HAM 103
A Glance at Haitian History—A Trip Through the Interior—The United States Occupation—Negro Unity.

VI. ROMANCE TURNED TO ROADS . . . 136
Influences Retarding the Dominican Republic—Seeing the Country—Neighborly Service—Cooperation, Not Imposition—Where Do the New Roads Lead?

VII. OVERPOPULATION AND UNDERFEEDING 169
Economic Problems in Porto Rico—A New Interest—Public Health—Christian Service—Political Questions.

VIII. CONQUISTADORES OF TODAY . . . 195

BIBLIOGRAPHICAL NOTES 220

INDEX 227

TRAILING THE CONQUISTADORES

I

THE CRADLE OF AMERICA

"ANY news?" asked the local reporter, calling the author's home by telephone one day. "Nothing except that Mr. Inman has gone to Santo Domingo," was the reply. But that was enough to start the reporter. "Santo Domingo, Santo Domingo—let's see, that's the capital of South America, isn't it?" Well, not exactly! But the Dominicans will tell you that their country is the "Cradle of America," both North and South. And they are right.

It was in Santo Domingo that Columbus made his first permanent settlement. Here he spent the happiest period of his life, in spite of being enchained by his enemies and sent home in disgrace; and here finally his bones were returned to rest in the first cathedral erected in the Americas. It was in Santo Domingo that the first white man's colony of the new world, and the first university in that world, were organized. It was in Santo Domingo that the first Christian sermons were preached, the first printed books sold, and the first blessings, as also the first blights, of European civilization introduced. It was from Santo Domingo that Cortés, a keeper of court records, set out by way of Cuba to conquer the Mexican Montezumas and to present to Spain the most marvelous of gifts ever received by any empire. It was in Santo Domingo that the *conquistadores* first came into contact with primitive

America and learned of the further possibilities and problems of conquest which lured Balboa to discover the Pacific, Velásquez to colonize Cuba, Pizarro to conquer the Inca empire, Ponce de León to subdue Porto Rico and to drive his keels to Florida in quest of the Fountain of Youth, and Fernando de Soto, after his exploits in Peru, Central America and Florida, to achieve the discovery of the Mississippi. Here the irreproachable dandy and honorable gentleman Nicuesa, along with his equally groomed and equally valorous rival, Ojeda, prepared their expeditions to conquer and settle the mainland bordering the Spanish Main. Here passed González de Ávila on his way to one of the most heartbreaking expeditions, through Darien and upper Central America, that ever a strong soldier was called to endure. And here the noted bishop, Padre de las Casas, began his far-famed ministry of mercy. For half a century following Columbus' epoch-making voyages, this little island was the central port and highway through which the flower of Europe traveled, bearing the old-world culture to the utmost bounds of the new colonial empire.

Would you become aware of the historic wonders of this bepalmed little island? Then make the acquaintance of the present Archbishop of Santo Domingo, his grace the Monseñor Nouel, who was the first to open up to me this marvelous story. A more charming old Spanish *caballero* you will not find the world around, nor a more ardent antiquarian. Understand that he is not simply a churchman, the ranking Roman prelate of the Americas, but that he has occupied many of the highest civic positions,

including the presidency of the republic, and is regarded as the first citizen of the land. No one else knows Dominican history as does the archbishop, and no Virginian colonel was ever a more hospitable or enthusiastic host than he is. To have a morning with him in the edifice he loves so well, and at parting to take an autographed copy of his two-volumed *Historia Eclesiástica de Santo Domingo* to be mulled over at every convenient hour, is as high a privilege as any visitor could desire.

Look around at the archiepiscopal cathedral, a magnificent Gothic edifice with its fourteen great columns which sustain the ceiling, and its imposing arches imitating royal palms. There are three spacious naves and fourteen chapels. The great altar, a work of rare beauty, was constructed by special command of Emperor Charles V. The altar of El Santísimo chapel is encrusted with precious silver gathered on the island in the earliest colonial days. Its solid mahogany, four centuries old, is a specimen of that beautiful age-mellowed wood to be found in all parts of this and other ancient Dominican churches. "The North Americans are particularly fond of this old mahogany," says the archbishop as he lovingly fondles one of the beautiful pieces. Then he adds, "When my friend Dr. —— is in the country, I leave special instructions that I am to be called immediately he pays me a visit, so that I may calm his enthusiasm as a collector."

Many precious relics, jewels and paintings are pointed out by Monseñor, most of them inaccessible to the casual visitor. Here is beautiful old communion plate of great

historic value, a present from Pope Paul III when at the request of Charles V he raised the rank of the edifice to that of metropolitan cathedral, giving it the honorable title, "primate of the new world." There are altar pieces of solid silver bordered in pure gold, presented by Charles, which are used only on the most solemn occasions. Precious also is the cross of silver which is used to hold the *santa reliquia,* and the urn which contains a relic of *divina majestad* on Holy Friday. Columbus' love for his church and the island is here shown in many ways, especially by the painting called Our Lady of Antiquity, which depicts their most Catholic sovereigns prostrate before the Virgin. This famous picture was a gift of Ferdinand and Isabella to the Admiral as he left on his voyage of discovery.

Most precious of all these possessions are the remains of the great Columbus himself. It is an experience of a lifetime to have Monseñor tell you on the spot how these were discovered when it was supposed they had been carried long years ago to Havana and thence to Seville. He leads you up near the high altar and points to the left side, where lies the noble and beautiful Doña María de Toledo, wife of Don Diego Colón, son of the discoverer. This eminent lady was a great power in the social life of Santo Domingo and led the movement to transport from Spain the bodies of the Admiral and his son and to enshrine them in the cathedral. This was accomplished in 1536 when the caskets were deposited "over the Presbytery, on the Gospel side of the main wall of the principal altar, the two vaults being separated by a wall."

Foul times fell upon Santo Domingo; its glory faded, the great men of its beginnings dropped out of the picture. In 1795, in a settlement of one of the many wars between Spain and France, the former agreed to cede the eastern part of the island to France, which had already secured possession of it. This meant that official Spain, with all its glories of three hundred years, must clear out. In the hurried packing of the archives and relics for transfer to the Cuban metropolis, the cathedral was visited, and the copper box to the left of the altar, supposedly containing the remains of the Admiral, was dug up and transported to Havana with great show. There the relic was venerated by Spaniards and Dominicans alike as the remains of the glorious Sailor of Genoa.

Nearly a hundred years later, when Santo Domingo had become an independent country and necessary repairs were being made in the cathedral, on September 10, 1877, a worker excavating under the high altar struck a metal casket. The archbishop was called. After a hasty examination he ordered work suspended and closed the cathedral until next day, when he called the civil authorities and foreign consuls to examine the find. It was a vault adjoining the one left empty by the Spaniards, and within it was a leaden case which bore various inscriptions, and which students and scientists then and afterward declared held the true remains of the great Cristóbal Colón. Apparently the Spaniards had taken to Havana not the body of the Admiral but that of Don Diego, his son. The Dominicans were wild with patriotic fervor. They immediately raised by popular subscription money to erect

in the main nave near the great door the beautiful mausoleum where the treasured leaden box is now deposited. The Spaniards continue to maintain that they have the true remains in Seville.

As we continue from chapel to chapel, our venerable host points out the spots where are buried other great heroes who lived and labored in this first American city. We find that every stone, every corner of this wonderful old church bears its historic stamp, even to the bells in the never finished towers, and the English cannon ball embedded in the roof as a result of the visit of Francis Drake in 1586. Now we have caught the enthusiasm of our guide; now we begin to see why the Dominicans have a right to call their city the Cradle of America. And as we bid good-by to the charming old churchman, we find ourselves hoping that some day his own romantic life will be written down, perhaps in some such fashion as was done for a brother hero in Willa Cather's story, *Death Comes for the Archbishop*.

The city of Santo Domingo was not the first settlement in the Dominican Republic. Columbus planted his first colony on the northern shore of the island (now the republic of Haiti) at a point called La Navidad near the present city of Cap Haitien. But Columbus had hardly departed for Spain before the Spaniards he had left behind began to rob the Indians and to convert the colony into a theater of crime and scandal. This caused the Indians who had at first shown them marked hospitality to turn against them in a frightful massacre. When Columbus returned on his second voyage he punished the

Indians in the most relentless way, and began to make war generally upon them.

This cruelty was especially regrettable because the natives of Santo Domingo, the Arawaks, quite unlike the fierce Caribs of some of the other islands, were a quiet people who lived peaceful lives, occupying their days with fishing, hunting and agriculture. Their religion taught them the worship of the Great Spirit and of minor gods represented by idols carved in wood and stone. Savage dances, weird music, and games of ball furnished their amusements. They were not ambitious, and were unaccustomed to confinement and hard work, which is one reason why the long hours of heavy burden-bearing imposed by the Spaniards, along with the cruelty, soon eliminated all traces of them as a people.

Among the first and most famous of the encounters with the Indians was the one that took place near Santiago in the richest of Dominican valleys, christened by Columbus La Vega Real, or Royal Plain. No wonder the Admiral was impressed with the glories of that view seen from the eminence of El Santo Cerro, the Holy Hill. It is one of the most imposing stretches of rich tropical growth visible in any part of the world. Silver threads mark the course of several rivers, winding their way fifty miles to the sea. Today the deep green foliage is relieved by brown fields of cultivated cocoa, coffee and tobacco. On El Santo Cerro Columbus met the natives in a decisive battle which determined the future sovereignty of the island. It is said that the Indians, victorious in their first encounters, endeavored to destroy a wooden cross which the

Spaniards had set up on this height. They found that the cross would not burn, and on closer investigation saw a beautiful woman dressed in white, with a child in her arms, sustaining the cross. The Spaniards recognized her as Our Lady of Mercy and saluted her with prayers and tears. Today one finds on this same spot a chapel erected to the Virgin. In the center of the chapel is still found the well, now dry, wherein rested the cross; and the faithful, coming on pilgrimages from all parts of the country, believe that earth taken from this spot has miraculous healing power.

From the time of the battle on El Santo Cerro the Indians were persecuted in every possible way. Alonso de Ojeda, one of Columbus' men, captured Chief Caonabo by telling him that handcuffs were a special decoration of the King of Spain, and then threw the cacique on his horse and escaped from the chief's guard. This was the same Ojeda who, speaking to a group of natives, declared: "I, Alonso de Ojeda, servant of the highest and most powerful sovereigns of León, conquerors of barbarians, I, their emissary and general, do declare unto you most solemnly that God our Lord, who is the One only and eternal, made heaven and earth, one man and one woman, from whom you and all men who were or shall be, are descendants."

Thus early was established the custom of mixing indiscriminately the conversion of the Indians to Christianity with the most violent acts of cruelty. When the Indians refused obedience they were hunted down. Prisoners of war were made slaves, sold in public, sent to Spain in cap-

tivity, or compelled to pay as tribute a quarterly tax varying from a cup of gold to twenty-five pounds of cotton. Such exacting contributions of labor and produce soon began to break the health of the Indians, and when this result became evident the tribute was temporarily reduced. But then began the system of *repartimientos,* which gave the cultivated lands to Spaniards, and the *encomiendas,* which assigned a certain number of Indians to them for work. The two systems gradually combined and became the central scheme for exploiting the Indians. It was the most calamitous mistake of the conquest, the one out of which many other evils grew.

Queen Isabella always showed deeper interest in the Indians themselves than in any other part of the great enterprise to which she contributed so overwhelmingly. Her death in 1504 was an irreparable loss to the spiritual program she so consistently pushed for the colonies. Her royal spouse, Ferdinand, as a memorial to her, sought the improvement of the condition of the natives in Santo Domingo by ordering that the destructive and cruel system of *repartimientos* be abandoned. These orders were never carried out, however, since the local authorities believed that such procedure would work injury to their commercial interests.

Don Nicolás de Ovando was the successor of Columbus as governor of Santo Domingo. He introduced his administration by a visit to the powerful Indians of Jaragua, whom it was desired to impress with Spain's greatness. Queen Anacaona and her caciques had assembled a great number of their simple, unsuspecting people to receive

the new governor. On arrival he had his soldiers begin a series of maneuvers in the midst of which, when the innocent spectators were being most entertained, at a given signal he ordered his infantry to fire and his cavalry to charge on the unprotected crowds, cutting them down without respect to age or sex. Only Queen Anacaona was spared and she was taken to the capital city and hanged in the public plaza, under the charge that she had been unfaithful to her newly accepted religion.

Having suppressed the *"cacos,"* Spain began to colonize, despatching many emigrants on the regular line of sailing vessels then established, instructing all concerned in agricultural and commercial methods, guaranteeing obedience to law and honest administration of public funds. A system of stimulating the country districts was inaugurated. Minor authorities were sent throughout the country to develop agriculture, erect forts which would assure safety, construct roads, provide regular means of communication with the capital, and in many ways to build up a social and political order that would guarantee progress. The clergy early began to take a prominent part in colonial life, and the Dominican friars especially protested the abuses against the Indians. On the other hand it is to be regretted that there were other priests who introduced the policy of armed protection of missionaries; as, for example, when two friars in La Vega reported to Columbus that certain Indians had destroyed an altar, and a trial was held and the Indians were condemned to be burned on the public plaza.

Ovando, successor to Columbus, was, like many another

administrator, cruel to the natives but a good organizer and an efficient manager. He had a prosperous administration in Santo Domingo, and annually sent to Spain four hundred and fifty thousand ducats, the product of the smelters at La Vega and Buenaventura. It was under Ovando that Santo Domingo City began to reveal evidences of culture. He established churches and hospitals, some with his own funds. This progressive colonizer introduced from the Canary Islands in 1506 that product which was to be the center of the industrial life of the West Indies for the next four centuries, sugar cane.

The Indians both in Santo Domingo and the other colonies died off so fast under the severe labor imposed by their masters that, both because of economic demands and a strangely reasoned humanitarianism, it was decided to import African slaves. These were first restricted to Christian slaves whom individual colonists were allowed to bring with them from Spain. But this measure failed to satisfy the demand, so in 1518 one of the foreign favorites of Charles V, the governor of Bresa, obtained the first regular contract to carry four thousand slaves directly from Africa to the West Indies. Fifty years after the landing of Columbus the Indian population had been practically eliminated. African slaves continued to be imported in ever increasing numbers.

In time the governments as well as individuals in the various colonies turned their attention from agricultural products to the securing of precious metals. Natives were forced to work the mines, while many regions adapted to agriculture were neglected. Immigration was restricted.

The importation of unorthodox books was prohibited in order that the colonies might be kept free from contamination of heresy and of foreigners. The Spanish population was concentrated in cities, and the country divided into great estates granted by the crown to the families of the *conquistadores* or to favorites at court. Such measures soon began to have their effect, and her earlier prosperity began to fade from Santo Domingo.

When this was realized by her governors, heroic efforts were made to save her glory. Reforms were instituted, new colonists were brought in. But when the mainland was discovered, when the riches of Mexico, Central America and Peru began to be disclosed, there was as great a rush from Santo Domingo to these newer lands as there had previously been from Spain to the fairy island where Columbus made his home. *"Dios mío, al Perú!"* was the cry. And the procession passed on in the wake of the *conquistadores.*

Early Conquest

What a race of supermen! The pride of the hidalgo and the rigor of the ascetic; rigid individualism and loyalty to king; audacity, courage, superstition, cruelty, streaks of nobility, with daring and more daring and energy incomparable—these were some of the characteristics of the most astounding type of human the world has seen, the Spanish *conquistador.* He came from a Spain that, while victorious, was exhausted after centuries of struggle against the Moors. To him the luxury of the court of a Montezuma and an Atahualpa was dazzling in the extreme. He was

captive to an incomparable prospect of wealth and fame: "Since the days of the Queen of Sheba, no writer has ever stated that gold, silver and jewels had ever been discovered in such vast quantities as those which Castile is about to receive from her new colonies," wrote an early chronicler.

Many a Spanish captain before invading the Indies had fought in Flanders, pillaged Rome, laid siege to the Moors, and imitated the exploits of Don Quixote, both in Spain and in foreign lands. Therefore barbarous conflict in unknown territory, savage Indians, mysterious forests, unending rivers and deserts had no restraining terror for the *conquistadores*. Their physical hardships were extreme from the outset. The long voyages from the old world in hot, stinking ships brought scurvy and dysentery when the food grew rotten and then ran out. Wild-eyed, the crews babbled and sputtered, threatening incoherent mutiny, or lay groaning in the scuppers, tortured—for the leaden lash alone preserved discipline. All around was fever, vomiting, and delirium. Yet when land was reached these fever-racked men had to fight, had to drag heavy armament over mountains under a blazing sun. Sick or wounded, they could not lag; death alone could release them from the advance.

What energy! The mountains are high and rough, but these pathbreakers scale the steepest rock-barred passes, five, ten, twenty thousand feet high. Sweating, cursing, they strain upward in their steel cuirasses, which under the tropical sun become searing ovens; they stagger forward under the iron of their flintlock harquebuses, each weighing thirty pounds.

Here is gold, gold rich and pure, and if they can only get at its source, each man can return to castles in Spain.

Here is adventure. These are hardy men, lovers of danger; desperate men, robbers, thieves, degenerates, murderers, gamblers; and proud sons of noble lineage whose blood burns like fire, like the tropic sun, like an inflamed cuirass, like scalding helmets.

Here is conquest. These treasure lands have been conquered for a proud nation's greater pride. And after conquering, they had built. No simple, primitive construction, this. What is a church unless heavy stone vaulting is flung into the sky high above the crest of royal palms? Story upon story of scaffolding, groining, a dressed stone to fit each place. Europe took centuries to build a single cathedral, and Europe had so many builders, the young colonies have so few. But it can be done, and these sick men will do it. Then to protect all there must be forts and walls and city gates, within which one may walk in the plaza, hear mass said in state, step into the gutter to let a great man's equipage pass, drink and dance and sing and love—all secure behind a great encircling wall, with the wilderness beyond.

Here is God. They know well the tortures of the Inquisition. They have taught a Christianity purified of heresy by the burning of bloody, aching, shredded flesh. The natives worship false gods. The one true God must advance.

So the conquest goes on. It is the first rush for gold, the most crucifying, daring, greedy, cruel and energetic

of the gold rushes. It is the last of the Crusades, the most fanatical, most cruel, and most enthusiastic of them all.

On to the Continent

We left Don Nicolás de Ovando repairing the streets and getting the town of Santo Domingo ready for these men of destiny. Enter now the first and greatest of them all, Hernán Cortés.

When the noble Don Nicolás left Spain to take the place of Columbus as governor of Santo Domingo, he was to have been accompanied by a certain fiery youth from Medellín. But that was prevented by an accident the night before sailing. While scaling a high wall to gain access to the apartment of a lady with whom he was carrying on an intrigue, the young man found the vines and the stones giving away, and fell violently to the ground. Some time was necessary for him to recuperate from this escapade, and meanwhile Ovando had sailed away. But the youthful adventurer found another fleet likewise bound for Santo Domingo. On arriving, he called immediately on his old friend the governor. The latter was absent, but his secretary assured him that he could obtain a liberal grant of land. The reply of Hernán Cortés was indicative of his character and his future: "But I came to get gold, not to till the soil like a peasant."

Cortés did, however, agree to take a grant of land with a *repartimiento* of Indians. He was also appointed notary of the town of Azua. For some time he looked after his land, his Indians, and his accounts, continuing an indul-

gence in those amorous pursuits which flourish in the sunny climes of Spain and of tropical America. He engaged in military expeditions along with Diego Velásquez, one of Ovando's lieutenants, and when the former was appointed to settle the neighboring island of Cuba, Cortés accepted an invitation to accompany him. He and Velásquez did not always get along well, but so impressed was the latter with his resourcefulness and bravery that he decided to appoint Cortés at the head of an expedition to Mexico.

One year after he landed at Vera Cruz, after the Aztecs had driven the invaders from the capital with terrible losses, the Spaniards began a final siege. An eyewitness of the capture of Mexico City described it thus: "It is true and I swear, Amen, that all the lake and the houses and the barbicans were full of the bodies and heads of the dead men, and we could not walk except among the bodies and heads of dead Indians." Cortés decided to make Mexico City his capital. Within four years a new city had risen. The Spanish empire had superseded the Aztec, and the civilization of the white man had occupied another outpost in its long battle for supremacy.

Let us return to Santo Domingo and mingle with the picturesque crowd of adventurers, daredevils, broken-down nobles and ambitious knights who fill its plazas and open-air cafés in the balmy tropical atmosphere. We find great excitement. Everybody is arguing and wagering over which of two popular contestants will win from King Ferdinand permission to conquer the mainland with the rich emoluments which will ensue.

Here is the gallant Diego de Nicuesa, whose high lineage

and exquisite tact led Las Casas to refer to him as "among Castilians one of the best endowed with all the graces and human perfections." But no less challenging a character is his rival, Alonso de Ojeda, who has been in Santo Domingo since Columbus' second voyage, and has rendered many an important service to the crown. Feeling runs so high and endorsements are so evenly powerful, that wisdom is swayed by politics and King Ferdinand divides the job, granting the section from the Río Darién on toward the south and east to Ojeda, and the section north and west to Nicuesa.

Ojeda, more accustomed to organization, gets the first start for Cartagena. Among those clamoring for a place, three hundred are picked. Two applicants we notice especially. One is a tall, evil-eyed fellow, Francisco Pizarro, who had been a swineherd in Spain, and in Santo Domingo had been noted for anything but noble deeds. Another is a broken-down planter, by name Vasco Nuñez de Balboa, a reckless soldier of fortune who arrived in 1500, engaged in a riotous and variegated life, and became deeply involved in debt. Balboa's creditors succeed in preventing his departure, but he afterward manages to join the company by accompanying a relief expedition, his method being to hide himself in a barrel and get put aboard with the cargo.

The two leaders, Ojeda and Nicuesa, were soon supplanted and met tragic deaths. But the escaped debtor pressed on to discover the Pacific, and the swineherd launched out on that sea to open a new continent.

Pizarro set forth from Panama in December of 1531, with only one hundred and eighty men, to conquer the great

Inca empire which stretched all the way from Ecuador on the north to the borders of Argentina in the south—a daring undertaking which proved to be similar in many ways to that of Cortés. With the same spirit that led the latter to destroy his boats, Pizarro, when the governor of Panama sent to demand the expedition's return, drew a line and challenged all who chose Peru and riches to follow him, and all who preferred Panama and poverty to remain in their places.

Arriving at Tumbez on the gulf of Guayaquil the expedition found a remarkable center, with walls, temples, palaces, aqueducts, broad paved streets, stone buildings, and men and women wearing gay colors and all kinds of ornaments made of pure gold. Pizarro, learning that the ruler of the empire, Atahualpa, was encamped about three hundred miles to the south of Tumbez, sent Fernando de Soto with a body of men to begin parleys. When it was told Atahualpa that Pizarro desired to meet him as "a friend and brother," the Inca sent word that he would pay the Spaniards a visit. Reports concerning these white-bearded strangers who had arrived from the sea, riding unearthly monsters and bearing weapons which belched fire like miniature volcanoes, had reached the Inca and immensely impressed him.

Atahualpa, with his unsuspecting attitude, soon suffered the fate dealt out to Montezuma. Cuzco, the rich capital of the empire, fell before the Spaniards, who began an orgy of collecting gold. When the plunder was gone, Pizarro founded Lima, the City of the Kings, to which he moved the capital in 1535. There the great *conquistador,*

like most of his former companions in Santo Domingo, met death at the hands of his enemies. Lima not only became the capital of the Spanish possessions in South America, but for two hundred years was regarded as one of the important cities of the world. Thus another outpost of European civilization had been planted by one of those daring adventurers who had set out in 1509 from Santo Domingo, and from this advanced citadel Valdivia started to conquer Chile. Reports from Santo Domingo sent Mendoza off to settle Buenos Aires, and the Portuguese to colonize Brazil.

In the northern part of the continent the conquerors from Santo Domingo had opened up Cuba, Mexico, Colombia and Venezuela, Central America, Florida, and the great Mississippi Valley, and were getting ready to push on to far-away California. The entire continent, excepting a little fringe on the Atlantic and the uninviting cold sections above the great lakes, had been claimed by them. Government and the church had set machinery to work, resulting in the establishment even in remote sections of *cabildos,* or town councils, and of missions. The founding of the first American university, authorized for Santo Domingo in 1539, had been followed by the founding of the universities of Mexico in Mexico City and San Marcos in Lima, in 1553; of Córdoba, in Argentina, in 1613; of Sucre, in Bolivia, in 1623, or thirteen years before the founding of Harvard; and of Cuzco, in Peru, in 1692, or eight years before the founding of Yale. Likewise the printing press had been introduced, the first one being established in Mexico in 1537, the second in Cartagena in 1560. Soon

afterward there were presses in leading centers all through the continent.

Thus does Santo Domingo justify the boast of being the Cradle of America.

When we pause to meditate on the miraculous accomplishments of the conquest, we find that the same triumvirate of burning passions ruled all the conquerors—glory for the church, possessions for the king, gold for themselves. Gold they got in plenty, but they gambled it away at the campfire, lost it in the sea on the way home, or bought with it a begrudged social glamor in Spain. Few lived to enjoy the honors and riches for which they made such prodigious sacrifices. Most, as we have seen, met with violent death in the midst of action. As for the Spanish crown, it came to possess a continent and a half, and much wealth was shipped to Spanish ports from across the sea. But the volume of this gradually faded after the first period of exploitation. It was enthusiasm for the church that endured the longest and influenced the conquered regions the most widely. Said Columbus: "What I value in this enterprise of the Indes is not reason, mathematics, nor world maps; I would accomplish the vision of Isaiah."

"In all the countries visited by your Highnesses' ships," the Admiral wrote on his third voyage, "I have caused a high cross to be fixed upon every headland, and have proclaimed, to every nation that I have discovered, the lofty estate of your Highnesses, and of your court in Spain. I also tell them all I can respecting our holy

faith and of the belief in the holy Mother Church, which has its members in all the world; and I speak to them also of the courtesy and nobleness of all Christians, and of the faith they have in the Holy Trinity. May it please the Lord to forgive those who have calumniated and still calumniate this excellent enterprise . . ."

Balboa, on discovering the Pacific, "looked toward the sun, saw the sea, and fell down on his knees and praised God who had granted him such a sight." On approaching the sea he reverently removed his clothing, and with the cross in one hand and the sword in the other, took possession in the name of his God and his king. What did Pizarro and his priests do when Atahualpa presented himself as a friend and they wished to take forcible possession of his person? They gave him a catechism. What did Cortés and his men do when twenty maidens were presented to them for concubines by a Tabasco cacique? They ordered the girls baptized, to make them worthy of cohabiting with Christian men.

The zeal of the *conquistadores* to convert the Indians by wholesale, the ruthless destruction of their altars, the indescribable cruelties heaped upon them, were opposed by the best of the ecclesiastical authorities. However, the religious imperialism of Charles V and Philip II was preserved by closing the ports against foreigners and their books, and by instituting the Inquisition, which ferreted out all heresy. The church was the real governor of the colony, imposing sentences on viceroys and peons alike, setting moral and social standards for high and low. She was the guardian of art and learning, the source of

festivals, fairs and processions which furnished diversion for a people who had little else to amuse them.

The fight of Padre de las Casas against the abuses of the Indians was among the most brilliant in the history of reformers. Las Casas was one of the outstanding men of the sixteenth century. His father was a common soldier, who, accompanying Columbus on his first voyage to the new world, thus acquired wealth enough to educate his son at the University of Salamanca. Las Casas went to Santo Domingo with Oviedo in 1502, where eight years later he was the first person to be consecrated to the priesthood in the new world. He accepted a *repartimiento* of Indians in Santo Domingo, and later in Cuba, where he had accompanied Velásquez. As he watched the system, however, he became convinced that the Dominican friars, who had already begun to protest its cruelties, were right, and until his death Las Casas carried on a terrific struggle against the overwhelming forces, not only economic but ecclesiastical, which were determined to exploit the Indian.

The activities of Las Casas in behalf of the Indians gained him deserved credit at home. A code of laws was passed for the protection of this unfortunate race, to be followed throughout the colonial period by many other such efforts, though seldom were colonial officials found who paid any attention to humanitarian requirements. Las Casas spent much of his time traveling between Spain and the colonies, working for the advancement of his reforms. In 1544 he embarked for the fifth time for the shores of America. The majority of the colonists looked on his coming with apprehension, regarding him as the real author of the new

code, which struck at their ancient immunities and which they knew he would be likely to enforce. He was received with coldness everywhere, yet he showed no disposition to make unworthy concessions. This great *anti-conquistador,* as the Dean of the University of Tucuman calls him, retained his faculties and fighting spirit unimpaired until he died, July, 1566, at the age of ninety-two. His greatest regret in his last years, when he began to vision the larger unity of the human race, was that he had suggested the importation of African slaves, even though it had been to alleviate the sufferings of his beloved Indians.

For the abuses of these early days against the inhabitants of the lands they found we cannot blame the *conquistadores* too much. They reasoned in America as their predecessors and contemporaries reasoned in Europe and Asia: heathen gods were false gods, therefore the land and wealth of those who worshiped them should be taken and used for the promotion of the true religion—their own—and of so-called civilization.

Moreover, social conditions in the new world were in no way conducive to morality. This fact was early appreciated by Queen Isabella, as a memorial for whom after her death Ferdinand ordered that all colonists having families in Spain should bring them to live in the new world, and that those who were not married should immediately look for wives. This order showed that even as early as the beginning of the sixteenth century the moral risk was apparent of turning loose a lot of adventurers, many of whom, like Cortés and Pizarro, were young blades who had left Spain too early to have assured to themselves the best and finest

traits of Castilian character. And roaming over the mountains and rivers, sleeping on their guns, robbing and overcoming Indians by the thousands, always on the move toward new conquest, they had no ennobling influences to mold them. The influences of home were lacking. There were few white women, and other passions substituted for love. The Indian concubines were seldom regarded with real affection by their Spanish lords, so temptation to cruelty had no softening influence to bear upon it, no press of social custom, no fear of disapproval from women.

The age of the *conquistadores,* however, is not to be regarded as one merely of destruction. Indeed it was an age of creation—new cities, new churches, new universities, even a new race. In the northern part of America the colonists remained of relatively pure blood and ideals, but in the south the mixture of Europeans with Indians and Negroes brought forth a new people, who produced poets, scholars, clerics, builders, administrators, brilliant schemers. Nevertheless the daring and energy of the *conquistadores* disappeared, and the decadence of Spanish America began.

As for Santo Domingo, it still stands, more truly than any other spot, the Cradle of America, marking the introduction of Christian civilization into the new world. Its ancient towers, its weatherbeaten walls, its historic churches and its atmosphere of legend and culture, all speak of those romantic days when knights and adventurers, bishops and *comendadores,* crowded its streets on their way to make of America the hope of the world.

II

THE WHITE MAN'S BURDEN

"Will there be Christians in heaven?" asked the Cuban Indian chief Hatuey in 1511 of the father confessor who was urging the cacique, about to be burned for disobeying the Spaniards, to confess his sins that he might go to that region of the blest. When the confessor assured him that Christians would indeed be there the chief replied, "Then I will not confess, because I have no desire to go where they are."

The aborigines of the West Indies, although most of them were killed off by Spaniards during the first fifty years of the conquest, should no doubt have been very grateful to the Spaniard who had come to bring the saving gospel of Christ to the poor heathen, and incidentally to pick up the riches of the Indies "for Christ, our Lord, for the Catholic king and the pale fleets of Sevilla." But as we rapidly glance through the history of the West Indies for the next four hundred years we see that each of the other white peoples—English, French, Dutch, North American—came as thoroughly convinced as had been the Spaniard, that it was divinely called to bear the white man's burden, and to represent the blessings of a Christian civilization among the "backward and oppressed natives" of the West Indies.

Early in the sixteenth century stories of Spanish cruelties

and of Spanish riches in the new world reached England. That country, profoundly shocked, felt a divine call to punish the Spaniard for his cruelty by relieving him of his wealth. Cromwell wrote to the admirals whom he sent to the West Indies, "The Lord himself has a controversy with your enemies, even that Romish Babylon of which the Spaniard is the greatest underpropper. In that respect we fight the Lord's battles."

France, too, began to have this same stirring of the conscience. Here is a Parisian gentleman, Monsieur Raveneau de Lussan, who tells us in his autobiography that he was well educated, brought up in good society, a pious and high-minded Christian unwilling to take advantage of his creditors. Accordingly he departed for the West Indies and spent years there as a buccaneer in order to pay, as a gentleman and Christian should, his honest debts. After he had captured his first town he began the custom of compelling his fellow-pirates to accompany him to church; any member of the crew who refused to do this was promptly shot. Once they had reached the church, at Lussan's command the local priest would conduct a Te Deum; having thus performed their religious duties, the pirates would proceed to pillage the town.

In the course of time the United States began to manifest its own ethical interest in the West Indies. For example, in his instructions to Commander Owen of the U.S.S. *Seminole,* July 15, 1869, the Secretary of the Navy wrote in regard to an American in search of concessions in Santo Domingo: "You will remain at Samana or on the coast of St. Domingo while General Babcock is there, and give

him the moral support of your guns." In the exciting days of 1898 the United States was discussing the question as to whether or not this country should go to war with Spain over the Cuban issue, and Leland H. Jenks in his book *Our Cuban Colony* shows how the same argument was used. For Congressman Mason S. Peters, à la Cromwell and Raveneau, did not hesitate to sharpen political decision by appeal to the divine will and general human welfare. A fight with Spain, this pious representative of the people declared, "would be the opposing of forces which have been at work shaping human destiny throughout all the ages . . . On the one hand, the divine right of kings; on the other, the divine right of man . . . Such a war would be a blessing to the world." General Grosvenor of Ohio loyally exclaimed, in addressing the House of Representatives, "Do you think that this great party in power today is going to be unfaithful to a trust which . . . will, if properly discharged, bring glory to the Administration?" On February 9 of the same year Assistant Secretary of the Navy Theodore Roosevelt, stirred by the abuses the West Indians were called upon to suffer, wrote: "I should myself like to shape our foreign policy with a purpose ultimately of driving off this continent every European power. I would begin with Spain, and in the end would take all other European nations, including England." In a famous Senate debate on Haiti in 1922, Senator Oddie proclaimed that we had intervened there purely because of our interest in helping the Haitians; and it was hardly kind of Senator King to reply, "Every act of conquest has been accompanied by a pious protestation on the part of the conquering nation

that it sought the physical and moral well-being of the subjugated people."

Gold Fleets and Pirates

It was during the latter part of the sixteenth century that stories stirred England of the treasures being carried out of the West Indies to Spain, stories also of Las Casas' pitiless indictment of his fellow citizens' cruelties to the Indians. At that time Spain, following the same custom observed by the English colonizers, excluded by law all foreigners from her territory and commerce. She set up the Inquisition to keep pure the ecclesiastical as well as the political thought of her overseas dominions. The Catholic-Protestant controversy had already bred in the heart of the Englishman an active antipathy to Spain, which the persecution of English sailors by the Inquisition did much to intensify. So the two nations vied with each other in violent antagonism on sea and land.

England, France and Holland became formidable rivals for the Spanish Main. From irresponsible pirates the buccaneers developed into a semi-legalized horde, recognized agents of the various governments to divest Spain of her new-world resources. Hawkins, Drake and other great pioneers of Elizabethan England found ample scope for their adventurous spirit in attacking the Spanish domain. Hawkins and Drake wrote minute details of their exploits. All England became excited over the new world, as Spain had gone mad a century before at the reports of Columbus and those who followed him. A new element was introduced into trade when John Hawkins in 1564 set out from

England with a fleet of five ships and one hundred and seventy men and proceeded to the coast of Africa, whence he took—"partly by sword and partly by other means"—a cargo of Negroes to be sold in Santo Domingo.

Among the successors of Hawkins was his young friend Drake, who had accompanied him on one of his voyages. Drake's object was not so much that of slave trading as of capturing richly laden Spanish vessels. On his first trip Drake commanded only two ships and seventy-three men. For a year he hung around the West Indies, seizing ships, plundering towns and intercepting convoys. Following this expedition Drake began his voyage around the world at a time when Protestant England under Elizabeth was longing for a share of the new world's plunder as well as for opportunity to cross swords with the Papacy. On both sides the commercially adventurous spirit was strangely mixed with religious enthusiasm, and prayers and piracy were closely blended. Drake sacked unguarded towns in Peru and Chile, returning with over half a million pounds sterling taken from them. When he was knighted for these activities the die was cast, and Spain and England entered into their age-long struggle for supremacy in the Americas.

Following the voyage around the world, Drake planned an expedition to the West Indies. He directed his squadron toward the city of Santo Domingo, "the ancientist and chief inhabited place in all the tract of country thereabouts," where on New Year's Day, 1586, he landed his men about ten miles from the city, attacking it by land. After a short engagement in the streets and market place, he won the

victory. He collected a ransom of twenty-five thousand ducats, about sixty thousand dollars, and captured two or three hundred guns and ample stores of provisions. He then sailed away to Cartagena, where he also made a successful haul, arriving in England with sixty thousand pounds sterling of booty.

Buccaneers

Among the most celebrated of the French buccaneers was a scoundrel by the name of Francis L'Olonnois. It was the custom in those days to make slaves of persons who were not able to care for themselves or who could not pay their debts. Very often the only difference between master and slave was that one had money and the other had none. L'Olonnois as a boy was sold to a master who took him to the West Indies. When he became of age he elected to be a pirate, and was noted as the most cruel of his time. After one of his exploits against the Spaniards he made the acquaintance of some of their slaves, and with their help stole a boat and set sail for Tortuga, from which point he launched more exploits. When he attacked the Cuban village of Los Cayos, the Spanish governor of Havana learned of his plans and sent a large force and a big war vessel to capture him. L'Olonnois paid slight attention to odds against him, so he and his men stole up the sides of a Spanish war vessel near Havana and captured the few men on deck. The hatches were fastened down to hold the rest of the crew below while the victor stood on the deck of his magnificent prize. Then L'Olonnois took his heavy cutlass in his great muscular hairy right arm and ordered

the Spanish crew brought up from the hold. One by one each head was cut off as it appeared.

Thus the Spaniards were being attacked on all sides, and were at their wits' end. The plan of sending great convoys to protect their merchant ships brought no permanent relief, so, following the threatening of Cuba by Drake in 1586, an entirely new plan of defense was adopted: fortifications must be built. Once decided upon, this meant a comprehensive and intelligent plan for the defense of the whole of the Spanish West Indies, and explains the great fortresses which today delight the tourists who visit such strategic centers as Havana, Santiago, San Juan and Cartagena.

From the time these forts were built, the West Indies entered into a new era of industrial development. Pirates continued for two centuries to have headquarters on the island of Tortuga, just north of Haiti, but they were gradually disowned by their home governments. After the West Indies were divided among the various European governments, the race for supremacy became one between settled communities, which competed with each other in the trade of sugar, slaves and rum.

The West Indies of this period became a direct reflection of the general European scramble. The building of empire became more and more the motivating force. The commercial drive was more frankly to the fore. A real pirate was now outlawed, but a good honest trader like Captain Jenkins, who, on an expedition to Martinique, had a perfectly good ear severed from his lordly British head by some don or "frog-eater," was protected to the bitter end.

Of course it was never exactly proved that the captain had lost an ear, or, if so, why or when or where. But in those benighted days when propaganda was used to incite patriots, it made a nice enough little story to get the good people at home to support a war, the war of "Captain Jenkins' Ear." It remained for an English historian, whom Stephen Bonsal reports having met in the West Indies, to declare: "I am afraid the good Captain Jenkins was a pirate, or at best a smuggler, and that his missing ear, if it really was missing, was a pretext. We fought France and Spain a hundred years, and cheerfully gave up tens of thousands of our men, to get cheap brown sugar for ourselves and to sell it, not so cheaply, to our continental neighbors."

The transmuting of aristocratic freebooters into less romantic but more business-like traders and planters, progressed until the West Indies assumed among themselves about the same sort of balance of political and commercial power that existed in Europe. In 1697, by a trade of territory designated in the Peace of Ryswick, Spain kept possession of Cuba and Porto Rico, and until 1795 of the eastern part of Santo Domingo. The French secured the western part, now known as Haiti. Barbados was colonized in 1624-25. With the capture of the two larger islands of Jamaica and Trinidad, England's place in the West Indies was well secured. The Dutch, after having gained their independence from Spain, joined the game. Between 1632 and 1634 they established Caribbean trading stations on the islands of St. Eustatius, Tobago and Curaçao.

Sugar and slaves now took precedence over cathedrals and Indians.

Enter the United States

The young republic in North America early began to look toward the West Indies, from considerations both of trade and of national safety. Benjamin Franklin during the Revolution declared that Great Britain should cede to the thirteen colonies Quebec, the Bermudas and Bahamas and all their adjoining territory, since it was absolutely necessary for us to have them for our own security. John Adams thought the necessity came from commercial reasons. Thomas Jefferson's writings are full of such opinions as the following:

Our confederacy must be viewed as the next from which all America, north and south, is to be peopled. We should take care . . . not to think it for the interests of that great continent to press too soon on the Spaniards. Those countries cannot be in better hands. My fear is that they [the Spaniards] are too feeble to hold them till our population can be sufficiently advanced to gain it from them piece by piece.

The way that England looked at such a policy is shown by an article which Professor J. Fred Rippy has dug out of the files of the London *Times* of April 19, 1819, when Latin America was at the height of her struggle for independence from Spain, without having secured the coveted assistance of the United States:

It cannot be said that the United States has not an interest in the conclusions of these fatal troubles; at least she has shown that she has been able to sack no small advantage from their continuance, and that to our great and lasting detriment. Old Spain, having rejected arbitration,

may carry on the contest more feebly and more feebly still, till at last she may concede all her trans-Atlantic possessions to America. . . . If she [America] has hitherto abstained from acknowledging the trans-Atlantic states, she has had her price for it, in the cession by Old Spain of certain wealthy provinces. Far indeed from Great Britain be such conduct as this. Far removed from us be the baseness of extorting a bribe from the impotence of the old government in order to induce us to disown the rising liberties of the new ones. No; let us remember that we are England still; that we have an established name for honor and integrity.

The West Indies presented one of the most important international problems that faced the United States in the first half century of its existence. The complicated relationships between the West Indies and Europe must not, the government contended, be allowed to interfere with our Caribbean trade. Our precarious national existence must not be threatened by allowing Cuba, Santo Domingo or Porto Rico to become independent at a time when South and Central America were securing their liberty, lest Great Britain or France take them over. A little later, the slavery question that came to dominate our national politics was also a controlling factor in our relations to the islands, since Southerners considered the West Indies as possible future slave states, while Northerners looked upon the new Black Republic of Haiti as a promised land for the Negroes.

The years 1823 and 1826 were in some ways the most important in the history of the American continent. In 1823 President Monroe enunciated the famous doctrine bearing

his name, and in 1826 there met at Panama the first Panama congress, called by Simón Bolívar, the most brilliant of early South American patriots, to discuss American unity. The Monroe Doctrine and continental unity now became the two foremost American questions. And from the day of their announcement until the present, the great problems regarding their application and interpretation have centered in the Caribbean. The Monroe Doctrine has been applied especially to the Caribbean area. When France and Great Britain played around the far distant Río de la Plata,—the "River Plate"—Britain occupying Buenos Aires and taking possession of the Falkland Islands, and when Spain sent an expedition against Peru and Chile, the United States did no worrying. But it has always been alert to check every move which might violate this doctrine in the West Indies.

Simón Bolívar called the Panama congress to consider the question of a closer union of the various American countries and the maintenance of their independence from Europe. At first Bolívar did not think it advisable to invite the United States, but he yielded to pressure from Colombia and Mexico, the very countries the United States opposed in their plans to liberate Cuba. During the long months of discussion in the Senate as to whether we should send delegates to this first meeting ever called to consider a League of Nations—striking anticipation of debates a hundred years later on the same topic—the West Indies thrust themselves into the center of the Pan American question. In opposing participation in the conference Senator Hayne of South Carolina said:

With nothing connected with slavery can we consent to treat with other nations . . . Let our government direct our ministers in South America and Mexico to protest against the independence of Haiti. But let us not go into council on the slave trade and Haiti.

When Henry Clay finally drew up the instructions for the United States delegates, who after months of debate were appointed so late that they could not participate in the congress at all, relations with the West Indies were the ticklish question. The delegates, said Clay, should take the position concerning Haiti that it was not necessary for all American countries to agree. As to Cuba the position should be that while the United States would like to see it enjoy freedom, this country could not see Cuba's freedom guaranteed by other powers, European or American, nor could it look with favor on its being freed by Colombia and Mexico, as was reported to be planned.

Thus the United States found itself in the midst of the West Indies problems, ready to take up the burden of the Caribbean. Europe might retire, so might Latin America. We would like to see Cuba enjoy freedom—but would it not be better for Cuba, Mexico and the rest of the world to wait till we ourselves were prepared to confer and guarantee it? When we ask the world to remember to praise us for our unselfish freeing of Cuba in 1898, we prefer that they forget our veto of the efforts of others to free her three-quarters of a century before. As for Haiti, she had secured her freedom in 1804 and asked no odds. But white men believed then that only white men had a right to

conduct an experiment in political independence, as some still believe today.

After the Mexican War the idea of natural expansion and "manifest destiny" took hold of the United States, and many bold schemes were advanced for securing Cuba and other near-by territory in order to make this continent safe for democracy. In the famous Ostend manifesto issued by the American ministers to Spain, France and England in 1854, it was stated that if Spain would not sell Cuba to us, and if after investigation we still believed the situation endangered our internal peace, "then by every law, human and divine, we shall be justified in wresting it from Spain." With the same idea of expansion, President Grant proposed to the Senate the annexation of Santo Domingo at the bargain price of a million and a half dollars.

Few of its citizens realize how extensively and with what rapidity the "far-flung battle line" of the United States is growing. The ordinary conception of our native land is limited to that of forty-eight states represented in a national Congress. Indeed it is a positive shock for the average North American to travel through the various Caribbean countries and come face to face with the predominance of United States influence in these little Caribbean republics, so-called. This influence has increased gradually but steadily. As a result of the Spanish-American war the United States came into complete possession of Porto Rico. Although Cuba was turned back to her own people, we still maintain, by means of the Platt Amendment, the right to intervene in that country and to control outright a naval station at Guantanamo. The war showed the necessity of

building the Panama Canal, and through processes described by President Roosevelt in his famous phrase, "I took the Canal Zone," the zone came to us in perpetual lease, with the Panamanian republic under our protection. In 1912 the United States sent marines into Nicaragua, and acted on the American Minister's cabled message of May 25 of that year, "to repeat my suggestion as to the advisability of stationing permanently, at least until the loan has been put through, a war vessel at Corinto." The marines since that time have been maintained in Nicaragua, with only one brief withdrawal.

In 1915, after one of the worst of many disturbances in Haiti, the United States landed marines on that island also and proposed a treaty which gave us practical control of the country. Its adoption after it had "encountered many difficulties" was aided, as Admiral Caperton in his official report explained, "by the exercise of military pressure at propitious moments." A year later a revolution in Santo Domingo was the occasion for our landing marines there also. When the government in power would not agree to the kind of treaty the United States had pressed on Haiti, martial law was declared and Admiral Knapp constituted himself military governor. For eight years, until 1924, the United States marines controlled Santo Domingo, and today the customs revenues are still collected by a United States official. The twenty-five million dollar purchase of the Virgin Islands in 1917 was made in order that our strategic position in the West Indies might be still more secure. Says Professor William R. Shepherd of Columbia University:

In about thirty years we have created two new republics—Cuba and Panama; converted both of them and three other Latin American countries—the Dominican Republic, Nicaragua and Haiti—into virtual protectorates; intervened by force at least thirty times in the internal affairs of nine supposedly sovereign and independent nations; made the period of intervention last anywhere from a few days to a dozen years; enlarged our investments from a paltry two or three hundred millions of dollars to the tidy sum of upwards of three billions, and installed in four states our own collectors of customs to insure payment. Incidentally, we have annexed Porto Rico and the Virgin Islands, built a canal, secured an option to construct another, and gathered in several naval stations.

The marked extension of the influence of the United States over the Caribbean countries began with the new interpretation of the Monroe Doctrine by President Roosevelt when he declared, with conditions in Santo Domingo in mind, that "the Monroe Doctrine may force the United States, however reluctantly, to the exercise of international police power." This new policy assumes our right, on the ground of eliminating political disorder, to establish fiscal and police control, to deny recognition to revolutionary governments, and to discourage financial aid from abroad. The argument for the policy is that it does not seek to deprive the island peoples of their sovereignty but to insure their stability, sanitation and general welfare; that military occupation has been voluntarily withdrawn from countries like Cuba and Santo Domingo, when the old diplomacy might have forgotten its promises; that extraordinary advance in modernization of life has resulted from the services of

experts of the highest moral and technical standing; that by material measurements the people are far better off under our rule than they would be under their own.

This altruism, however, has not been altogether appreciated by the Caribbean countries, who seem to think they would rather be rowdy children in their own house than orderly in Uncle Sam's well appointed home. Such reasoning is exceedingly difficult for the average citizen of the United States to understand, profoundly convinced as he is of the sincerity of his purpose in uplifting his neighbor. Thus when the United States takes up the burden of helping her little sisters beside the sea, her citizens are likely to have little patience with criticisms like that of Archbishop Nouel of Santo Domingo who, in reply to Minister Russell's request for the prelate's impressions of the United States's government of his land, said:

The people have suffered, if not willingly, at least resignedly, the weight of intervention. The people have supported patiently for several years a part of the six million dollar loan which they were compelled to contract when the convention was signed, saying that this was for the developing of the riches of the country, but which was really spent in high salaries of American employees. The people have supported for a period of three years a censorship of the press not only humiliating but ridiculous. It is true that the Dominican people in their political commotion in the past have witnessed more than one unjust persecution . . . and summary shootings. But they never knew before of the "water-cure," the cremation of women and children, the terrors of hangings, the hunting of men in the forest as if they were wild animals, the dragging of an old man by the tail of a horse at midday around the plaza of

Hato Mayor. We do not deny that we have known fraud in business and robbing of the public funds. But with the help and the lesson of various foreigners, we have now perfected ourselves in the art of chicanery and robbery by the wholesale.

As we have said, the critic of this benevolent program, whether he be one of the white man's fellow-citizens or one of the recipients of the supposed uplift, is usually looked upon, as Secretary of State Hughes put it, as having a "peculiar twist of the mind."

Patriotism and Morals

So it was with Las Casas, four hundred years ago. His contemporaries considered Las Casas a good man, well intentioned, quite capable in his own realm as a churchman. But he had an irritating altruistic perversity which constantly moved him to expose, protest, and defend the rights of the Indians. Into the ears of church and state alike he hurled his invective against the devastating injustices and atrocities. Las Casas just simply couldn't—or wouldn't—see the point: that while his fellow-Spaniards might have their faults and make their mistakes, they had declared that their purpose was of the highest, that they were establishing order and building roads, that their navy was the greatest agency for peace in those disturbed lands!

Of course, what the protesting Las Casas might have done, as a good churchman and a good patriot, was to boost what might be called the biggest and best program of uplift ever planned by any country in history up to that point. When instead he kept on criticizing, the patriotic

elements of the population both of the colonies and Spain felt the necessity of stopping his criticism. Universities canceled his engagements for lectures, his writings were suppressed, his fellow-bishops refused to invite him to their pulpits, vigilant societies busied themselves with black lists and passed around the word that Las Casas should be defrocked and his citizenship taken from him. In fact such a stir was created that the Emperor Charles V was obliged to take cognizance of the situation and call a conference. Before this august conclave, which included his Hispanic Majesty himself, Las Casas boldly declared:

"I am one of the oldest immigrants to the Indies, where I have spent many years, and where I have not read in histories that sometimes lie, but saw with my own eyes, the cruelties which have been inflicted on those peaceful and gentle people, cruelties more atrocious and unnatural than any recorded of untutored and savage barbarians. No other reason can be assigned for them than the greed and thirst for gold of our countrymen. Sire, the spiritual interests of your soul excepted, nothing is of greater importance to your Majesty than the finding of a remedy for these evils."

As a result of these unpatriotic words, the "New Laws for the Good Treatment and Preservation of the Indians" were decreed by the emperor. However, common sense and commerce raised such a storm of protest that Charles V turned from his temporary idealism and later abrogated these reforms.

In England such minority criticism arose not through a

powerful bishop like Las Casas, but through a poor printer. This unfortunate man, William Crooke by name, came upon an English translation of *The Buccaneers of America,* a work written in Dutch by Jan Esquemeling, himself a buccaneer, and printed it in London in 1684. Now this was just about the time when the intrepid and unscrupulous Morgan the raider was in process of becoming Sir Henry Morgan, and Sir Henry was naturally disturbed by certain passages in his fellow-buccaneer's quaint book. In describing Morgan's plunder of Puerto Bello, the writer told of numerous barbarous scenes like the one where "One party of pirates, being assigned to this purpose, ran immediately to the cloisters and took as many religious men and women as they could find." The leading citizens having taken refuge in a castle, Morgan decided to build ladders wide enough to hold three or four men and high enough to reach the castle walls, which ladders he commanded the monks and nuns to take up to the walls. After taking the castle the buccaneers gave themselves over to all manner of debauchery and excess, and these "vices were immediately followed by many insolent actions of rape and adultery committed upon many very honest women, as well married as virgins."

If the book had told such a story about a Spaniard, its printer might have been dubbed Sir William, just as his fellow-citizen was honored with the title Sir Henry. But such a story about an Englishman—well, it could only be a deliberate libel, and of course it must be prosecuted. However, governments were more generous in those days with publishers. Mr. William Crooke was let off with

making an apology to Sir Henry and to the English public, and destroying the wicked book.

The North American who looks back on the attitudes of these early critics may be able to appreciate something of the feelings of the Cuban cacique Hatuey and of Las Casas toward the Spanish program of uplift. For after all, as Cromwell pointed out, did not Spanish rule represent not a true type of Christianity but a kind of "Romish Babylon," of which little more than heathen standards and cruel practices might be expected? In the United States we might even see that in helping the West Indies our own British cousins, fellow Protestants with us, fighting the battles of the Lord under the direction of Christian leaders like Drake and Morgan, do not seem to have been entirely without the sort of practical idealism which allowed them to come out of the adventure with a few worldly possessions like Jamaica and Trinidad. Yet when it comes to our own land, many of our citizens would be so sure of their country's beneficent procedure toward weaker and less advanced peoples that they would feel that any criticism of their country's program would be reprehensible. Even so, such criticism has been strongly put forward, as is shown by the presentation of a document to Secretary of State Hughes by a group of twenty-four of the leading lawyers of the United States, including Raymond B. Fosdick, Lewis Marshall, Charles P. Howland, Judge Frederick A. Henry, and Morefield Storey. These Americans declared, after reviewing the hearings concerning intervention in Haiti by a committee of the United States Senate from October 4 to November 16, 1921:

The presence of our military forces in Haiti after the disturbances (due to murder of numerous political prisoners) on July 27-28, 1915, had quieted down, was violative of traditional American principles.

The seizure and withholding by our forces of Haitian national funds in 1915 was a violation of international law, and of repeated professions by responsible American government officials of our position and attitude toward Latin American republics and weaker governments.

The imposition and enforcement of martial law and the conduct of offensive operations in Haiti by Admiral Caperton prior to the acceptance of the treaty by Haiti was an equally clear violation of international law.

The methods employed by the United States in Haiti to force acceptance and ratification of the treaty framed by the United States representatives, namely, the direct use of military, financial and political pressure, violate every canon of fair and equal dealing between independent sovereign nations, and of American professions of international good faith.

Undoubtedly there is truth in the foregoing statement; there is some truth also in the one by High Commissioner Russell in his seventh annual report to the State Department, that "the sole desire of the United States is to advance the welfare, both moral and material, of the Haitian people." Every group of white men since the days of Columbus has represented something of both exploitation and benevolence. Every group believed it was doing God's will, and at the same time every one has come out with more land and more business.

Spain discovered the West Indies and took up the burden of giving the aborigines her Christian civilization, her

cathedrals and universities, her governmental system and social and political institutions. But the poor aborigines themselves disappeared. England took up the burden of dislodging the Papists and the business blunderers, and of furnishing efficiency methods and African slaves. The poor slaves only reproduced the miseries enjoyed by the Indians. The United States, beholding the work of monarchical Spain and imperialistic England, takes up the burden in turn. It eliminates the native lawmakers, who are seen as oppressors of the lower classes, establishes order, cleans up financial messes, builds roads and hospitals, introduces motor cars and aircraft, improves sugar mills and banana estates. And believes that it, too, is fighting the battles of the Lord.

But are these truly the battles of the Lord? According to an ancient prophet, such battles are fought "not by might nor by power, but by my spirit, saith the Lord." The white man has used the method of mighty navies and of the powerful economic drive. In the light of the results of these methods, have the declarations by the white man of his Christian purposes been justified?

As for us of the United States, does our program in the West Indies show less reliance on navies and armies and less desire for strategic dominance and commercial advance than the programs of former dominant elements have shown?

When the final results are established, will they reflect more glory upon us than they do upon the Europeans? Will the West Indians, because of our practices toward

them, be happier men, women and children, better citizens, greater contributors to a nobler world?

We have taken a hasty glance at four centuries of the white man in the West Indies, the picture sketched in a few broad strokes, with many important movements and motives left untouched. But after all, the important thing for us is the future. If the white man has been too inclined to use the West Indies for his own benefit in the past, he should be ready with a new scientific technique and a new spiritual understanding to serve them better now. He has had opportunity to learn a new attitude toward other peoples, and to see "the white man's burden" in a more honest way. The challenge bids him face the future with a program of service, realistic and intelligent.

III

THE NEW CARIBBEAN

Americans who desire to visit the West Indies may feel that they have the worthiest of examples. The only time that George Washington ever left his native land was for a vacation in the Barbados in 1751. His older brother Lawrence had contracted tuberculosis while accompanying the English Admiral Vernon, for whom the Washington estate was named, in an expedition to oust the Spanish from Colombia. The brothers were swept along with the enchantment of those tropical islands. As they drove out into the cool of the evenings and beheld on all sides the fields of sugar cane and corn and the great groves of tropical fruits, the fertile charm of the land possessed them. Furthermore they were received with many attentions by the distinguished English planters and officials. Unfortunately the trip was taken too late to restore the health of Lawrence, but George Washington never forgot the West Indian enchantment.

Neither does the modern tourist forget it, who finds added to the romance of the conquerors and the buccaneers the charm and the gayety of light-hearted Latin life, the flash of a sea as blue as indigo and of coral reefs as white as alabaster, the brilliant verdure and flowers, the illimitable sunshine and the star-filled sky.

More and more thousands are spending vacations in the

Caribbean, lured by the advertisements of the multiplying cruise ships which tell us that along the aisle of the Gulf Stream we may witness an exciting drama of islands and peoples in the great theater of our own Caribbean Riviera, where the bustling rigors of northern winter melt into southern serenity and content.

Among these islands every port is stamped with its peculiar individuality, and over all is the glamor of romance, an influence with which, unfortunately, Americans do not too often come in contact. Generally speaking, the quality which has characterized United States history is dogged endurance; we have had comparatively little to do with towering galleons, armored soldiers of fortune, besieged white-walled towns, colossal heaps of golden booty, piratical forays from secret, palm-shaded lagoons.

The airplane is about to vie with the steamship for this tourist trade, as the recent flight of Colonel Lindbergh over a seven thousand mile circle brought out. What a difference between the anxious months of Columbus' voyage and the flight of Lindbergh! The schedule of that flight was like this: first day, Florida to Havana, Camaguey, and Santiago, where the night is spent; second day, Haiti (Port au Prince), Santo Domingo, Porto Rico; third day, on to the ancient Port of Spain in Trinidad; fourth day, to Dutch Guiana (Paramaribo)—2,685 miles distant from the starting point, yet only four days' journey by air. Thence, retracing his way a little, the flyer goes on to Venezuela (Maracaibo) and to Curaçao of the Dutch West Indies, a bit of Holland on the Spanish Main; thence to Panama, and along the two thousand mile route, already established,

from Cristobal through Panama City to Costa Rica (Punta Arenas), Nicaragua (Managua), Honduras (Tela), Havana, and back to Miami. A matter of about a fortnight is this journey, if the weather is fair. After all the centuries of isolation, these countries are suddenly but a few days' journey from the center of civilization! One dare not predict what fundamental changes this rate of communication will bring to the whole Caribbean area.

When the tourist desires to look under the surface, he will find these beautiful islands, like the rest of the world, full of human problems. Industrial conditions in most of the West Indies are increasingly depressing and urge solution. Economists and students of social science point out that these tropical lands are being exploited by capitalists and investors. With modern agricultural inventions and modern progress in sanitation, the tropics are no longer uninhabitable for the white man, but may be looked upon as an open field for his activities. World readjustments following the late war have not failed to have their effect on these islands along with the rest of the world; the old proposal for European countries to transfer their possessions in the West Indies to the United States has been revived, largely because of the financial depression both in the islands and in Europe.

As for political problems, the four countries in which we are particularly interested here—Santo Domingo, Cuba, Haiti and Porto Rico—represent four different kinds of relationships to the most powerful country on the continent. The United States faces the same varied theories

of government that Great Britain and other European powers have been working out in the past in their relationships with India, Ireland, Egypt and Turkey.

To get the complete situation, let us include in it the recently acquired Virgin Islands. There we have a territory purchased from another power without a plebiscite to express the will of the people transferred; a territory held as a strategic naval station and governed by the Navy Department at Washington. Porto Rico, acquired through the settlement of a war, occupies a position entirely new in our national development, representing neither the status of a territory nor candidacy for a state. A third type of political relationship is represented by Haiti, where, following military intervention, the United States maintains military and civil forces which act in conjunction with, if they do not actually direct, a nominal government elected under the auspices of our officials; for the first time in our history we have created a type of official, called a high commissioner, who is a military officer directing a civil advisory government. A fourth type of political relationship is represented by Cuba, where the Platt Amendment of 1901, modeled somewhat after a relationship that Great Britain occupies toward Egypt, gives the United States the right to intervene to maintain order. The fifth type of relationship is with Santo Domingo, where, after withdrawing a military administration that had existed for eight years, we still maintain the right to collect the customs.

These anomalous situations have all grown up during the twentieth century, as the result of our new interests, and

have been handled largely by the Departments of State and of the Navy, with an occasional Senate inquiry but without official action of Congress or other means of indicating the will of the American people as to what the attitude of their government should be. Have we outgrown our former ideal of declining to be an empire? Do we sincerely believe we have the right to control the fate of these island peoples? Are we aware of the effect of our present have-it-both-ways position on public opinion throughout the rest of the world? The essential principle involved is, indeed, not whether we prefer to occupy the position of an empire, but whether we shall be honest in the statement of our position, whatever it is.

The race problem is another which is immediately presented to a thoughtful person entering the West Indies. Ever since the time when the aborigines were eliminated, the African Negro has furnished the basic blood for the inhabitants of the West Indies. For four hundred years their history has centered around the sporadic outbreaks of the Negroes. The slaves on the plantations, often led by the better educated and more arrogant mulatto, have on numerous occasions slaughtered their masters without quarter.

The whites in the islands are represented by colonizing settlers, who are rather distinct from the great absentee landowners, the planters, soldiers, beach-combers and other adventurers still attracted to these lands. Then there is the more modern type of foreign business man, running all the way from the type who bluffs the Latin officials with his own or his country's guns, to the efficient banker

and the expert from the university, and there is also the modern missionary.

Cuba is the largest island, with thirteen times the area of Porto Rico and with great spaces open for immigration. The nearest to the United States, only six hours by ferry from Key West, the most Americanized and the richest, Cuba since the days of Jefferson has been considered the territory outside our borders most intimately related to our safety and "manifest destiny."

Caribbean Capitals

What a thrill we feel as we sail for the first time past old Morro Castle and land in Havana, the finest of all Caribbean cities. We begin to distinguish the white buildings of the wide-sweeping Malecón, the cathedral spire, the magnificence of the new presidential palace. Here, a mere step away from New York, is a Spanish city, with every bit of the brilliance and joy, the romantic foreignness, of old Castile. Over it has been laid just a trace of American influence to disguise the native indolence, so that the place reveals the best of two civilizations. Here are quaint plazas and statues of heroes, venerable churches, streets covered over with awnings which protect shops where the most extravagant purse may be satisfied. The avenues of palms are decked with blazing bougainvillæa, climbing roses, every kind of tropical brilliancy. For amusement there are the cafés and theaters, the famed casino rivaling Monte Carlo itself in the smartness of its visitors and the splendor of its setting. No city seems so made for pleasure as does Havana. Everyone looks to be on

a holiday, and gayety seems the password of life itself.

But if we stop long enough to look beneath the surface, we shall find with Judge Bustamante, Cuba's grand old man, a judge of the World Court, President of the Sixth Pan American Conference and author of the Pan American Code, who says, "Cuba is in the midst of one of those periods of intense constructive reality which from time to time absorb all the magnificent vitality of a people." It is this fact that makes a visit to Cuba in these days so intensely interesting.

Suppose one "drops up" on the roof of the Hotel Plaza in Havana, as the author did recently to attend the weekly luncheon of the Rotary Club, at which developed an informal debate. A lawyer member took occasion to ask why the government could not arrange better transportation with the neighboring islands with which the rising Cuban manufacturers are trying to establish trade. A member of the Cuban Department of State replied that he thought such questions ought not to be brought before the public, implying as they did criticism of the government in complicated matters which the government was even then studying. The lawyer replied that this had been the practice of Cuba and her government for four hundred years, to put all practical matters into a theoretical department for study, while the rest of the world moved on. He wanted action. The applause which greeted this statement no doubt persuaded the statistician to speed up his processes. Another orator spoke on the value of Cuban corn as a food, his speech running the gamut between

the most poetic oratory and the most complicated tables of statistics. Said an idealist talking to a sugar magnate: "When shall we in Cuba begin to think of men as more important than sugar? I hope the United States will raise the sugar tariff ten times more than they propose, in order that we may get out of our minds the preponderant value of sugar raised on great feudal estates where men, women and children live as economic slaves, underfed and lacking in all the blessings of a Christian civilization."

Before leaving the roof garden, let us take a look from its height over this charming old city. The first impression is that the low buildings and narrow streets of the Spanish régime are becoming interspersed with skyscrapers and broad avenues for traffic. Modern industrial life, more completely in evidence in Havana than in any other Latin American city, is making the same demands that it makes on New York and Chicago, although to the great credit of the Cubans it should be said that they are making a noble effort to conserve the old Spanish atmosphere along with the invading modernism.

The highest building on the horizon is the beautiful new one of the International Telephone and Telegraph Company. The buildings next highest are the new hotels. A few years ago the visitor was impressed with the scarcity and poverty of hotels, which were largely of Spanish operation; now the hotels and their management are modern American. Down toward the waterfront the familiar sight of Morro Castle presents itself. All along this side of the channel are the great shipping companies with their wharfs, for Havana is one of the chief ports of the world.

From our place on the roof we can see the great central railroad terminal. Just a little nearer is the Young Men's Christian Association, its equipment similar to that found in the cities of our own country. These associations in Latin America are always good places for visitors to get the right kind of introduction to the country. Spiritual influences in Havana are likewise represented by other organizations which we can pick out from our vantage ground. Close by is the large Southern Baptist building, which is an old theater turned into an auditorium, offices and school. Not far away is the Episcopal cathedral, which fits in beautifully with the city, as it is planned along the lines of old Spanish ecclesiastical architecture. The largest of the American mission churches is that of the Southern Methodists, with auditoriums for Spanish and English-speaking congregations, classrooms for a primary school, and offices and a pastor's residence. On Calle Salud, or Health Street, is the Presbyterian church, a busy place, since it houses a Cuban and a Chinese congregation and temporarily the American Union Church congregation. Near it is the headquarters for all these churches known as *Heraldo Cristiano,* with the Union Book Store and printing establishment, which publishes a weekly illustrated paper and other Spanish literature and furnishes the center for many cooperative enterprises.

If the eye moves from this publishing center a bit further to the left, it sees the wonderful new buildings of the University of Havana. This is the only university on the island and is the center of higher education for Cuba. As with all Latin American universities, it was founded

early by the church authorities, but it is now entirely separated from ecclesiastical influences. Most of the professors and students appear to have little interest in religion of any kind, but the Presbyterian church has recently established a home for students near by, and has interested a number of students and professors in the consideration of religious and spiritual problems. The university, like most of such institutions in Latin America, is without dormitories, gymnasium, or college activities, facilities which would help the young student from the country to keep from becoming a prey to the multiplied vices of the city set up to catch the visitor for profit. The university was closed for two years recently because of the differences between the students and President Machado, the students resenting his continuance in office for a second term, and his requirement that the university pay him certain honors.

As far beyond the university as eye can reach lies the beautiful residential district of Havana, Vedado. Still further away, across the little river that makes Havana an island, is Marianao, where the rich Americans and Cubans live. No more beautiful residences and estates may be found anywhere in the world than some of those in Marianao and the adjoining country club additions. Here one sees two kinds of "American influence" fighting for dominance, one represented by the casino and race track, the other by Union Church and Candler College. The Union Church is composed of some of the leading members of the American colony, coming from more than a dozen denominations "back home." A building site has been secured in order to erect a representative Chris-

tian church to minister to hundreds of young men and women who have been sent to Havana for brief periods by American corporations, as well as to represent the highest spiritual and cultural values of Cuba's neighbors to the north. Candler College is one of the oldest of the American mission schools, which represents, not work for its own nationals, but an institution planned and conducted to help Cuba face her tremendous educational needs.

The financial struggles of these modest institutions are in strange contrast to the prosperity of the richly equipped, American-owned pleasure resorts which one advertisement describes as: "Moonlight, music, a fountain playing, flamingoes among the roses—where more romance than at the Casino Garden? . . . Free beverages distributed at shady tables make the brilliant Tropical Gardens a pleasant place in which to linger. . . . Connoisseurs of horse-racing turn out in full force for a thrilling contest of thoroughbreds under tropical skies. . . . Formal dancing at night in the Casino, or you may choose to try your luck at one of Havana's gaming tables."

There are many institutions in the suburbs typical of the struggle that, from the American viewpoint, is going on as to whether Cuba will become a winter resort for Americans looking for the *risqué,* willing to lend themselves to the process of lowering standards of decency, using it as a center of liquor smuggling; or whether its palms and its people will attract the better elements among its next-door neighbors in an intercourse which will benefit both peoples.

Now let us direct our eye to the central plaza of Havana, just below where we stand on the roof garden. This noble square is to Havana what La Puerta del Sol is to Madrid. A few steps beyond is Cuba's most famous extravagance, the new fifteen million dollar capitol building, with one of the most gorgeous interiors of any government building in the world. The two most notable buildings on the plaza itself are those of two famous Spanish clubs. These clubs are not, as one might suppose, for a few rich members, but represent probably the most remarkable cooperative societies in the world. The Gallego Club has within its building also the National Theater. This club has about fifty thousand members, all of whom enjoy the privileges of night classes, medical attention, legal aid in difficulties, and expenses for funerals. Across the park from the Gallego Club is the newer building, the Asturian Club, built at a cost of two million dollars, which likewise has between fifty and sixty thousand members, many of them clerks who through their membership get all kinds of beneficial results.

These clubs suggest the strong influence that the Spanish colony still has in Cuba. While the United States has a much larger financial investment than has Spain, the Spanish colony has within its control most of the retail business of Cuba. It has also a tremendous cultural influence. During the Sixth Pan American Conference in January, 1928, it was very impressing to see that while the North American delegation was the controlling influence in that body, at that same hour of meeting every afternoon in a downtown theater three thousand people were coming to-

gether to hear the lectures of Dr. Fernando de los Ríos, noted Spanish professor, who was reviewing the influence of Spain in the early part of the sixteenth century.

The cultural influence of Spain in Cuba seems to be difficult for North Americans to understand, and in fact escapes most of them. But to some it is not clear even yet whether the United States with its geographical proximity and tremendous financial investment, or Spain with its language, its blood kinship, its heritage of literature and art, will be the dominating influence in Cuba. This decision may be influenced by the device of an up-to-date bulletin board on one of Havana's newspaper buildings. This immense board, the counterpart of those we see in our metropolitan cities, traces a baseball game that is being played in New York, while the ball shoots backward and forward, and the loud speaker calls out, *"Lu Gehrig conectó con su décimo homer!"* and the loitering crowd cheers.

In our rapid running of the eye over the skyline of Havana, we have been impressed, of course, with the importance of the foreigner in the capital's life. One naturally asks, if investors from the United States conduct the banking, the hotel business, the transportation, and if the Spaniards keep the stores and the Chinese do the common work, where do the Cubans come in? About the only thing left for Cubans to do is to hold office. And in reality an extraordinary number of them do spend their time either holding or seeking appointments. Politics as a national sport exceeds baseball or cock fighting. Graft is taken, as in many other countries, as a matter of course. Local politics revolve around such questions as what can and what can-

not be "slipped over" in spite of the Platt Amendment, and who will get the rich pickings from the government-directed lottery agencies.

A trip across Cuba to Santiago, which can be made in an express train in about twenty-two hours, reveals a different situation from that in Havana. In discussing a proposed visit of President Hoover to Cuba, a newspaper recently proposed that instead of being shown the finery of Havana, the Executive might well be taken to the country districts and shown the dire poverty there existing. This poverty, whenever anything happens to the sugar market, is pitiable in the extreme. In Havana there is always enough tourist, government and international activity to produce the effect of prosperity. It may be precisely because of the long rows of palatial homes and public buildings there, the enormous amount of money invested in amusement places kept going day and night at high speed, the elegant avenues and parks on every hand, that one is struck so forcibly by the many small Cuban towns consisting of nothing but shacks.

One wonders why some of the enormous funds the government is spending to beautify Havana might not be invested in pavements, schools, sanitation and public buildings in other sections than the capital. The foreign visitor is not the only one who raises the question, for several of the more influential cities, which furnish a large part of the national revenues, have been making insistent demands for more attention. They are, of course, working against an old Spanish American custom, which has always boosted the capital at the expense of the country. Much of Ar-

gentine history has revolved around the struggle between Buenos Aires and the provinces, and today the magnificence of the greatest city in South America is in strange contrast to the poverty of the *campo*.

In Cuba even Santiago, the first capital and a port of commercial importance, presents a bedraggled and woebegone appearance, betraying the need of all modern conveniences: of paved streets, of sanitation, of public parks, of modern buildings. Yet with all its down-at-the-heel appearance, the visitor will find Santiago the most picturesque and the most Spanish of Cuban towns. Especially will this be true if he is fortunate enough to have as his guide, as the author did recently, a member of one of the highly cultured Santiagueña families. Dr. Max Henríquez Ureña I met several years ago in Lima, where he was presenting to South America the case of Dr. Henríquez y Carvajal, the President of the Dominican Republic, deposed by the United States following the intervention of 1916. His is a name illustrating the blood relationship which unites distinguished families whose branches are to be found in all parts of the Caribbean. A history of the activities and migrations of families like those of Heredia, Ureña, Baralt, Tijera, de Hostos, Carvajal and Martí, would make a very significant history of the West Indies. Of all the historical sights in Santiago—the Morro, the first churches built in Cuba, the office where Cortés ruled as mayor, the various haunts of Velásquez the first governor, down to the modern San Juan Hill and the narrow passage where Captain Hobson sank the *Merrimac*—of all these the most interesting to me is the house where José María Heredia was born.

Heredia's family was among those who fled from Santo Domingo when the Haitian Negroes invaded that country in the beginning of the nineteenth century. After going to Florida and Venezuela, the family came to Santiago de Cuba, where the boy was born in 1803. He began to write verses when he was nine years old, and when he was seventeen he had composed a notable poem. At eighteen he was a lawyer, and at nineteen a conspirator for liberty against Spain. His passion for liberty dominated every act of his life. He was a great admirer of Simón Bolívar, the South American liberator, but when he became convinced of Bolívar's plans to become emperor he changed his opinion, exclaiming, "Brilliant Lucifer, will you also fall from the heavens?"

When he was twenty-one Heredia joined a movement against the Spanish government, and as a result was exiled to the United States. The cold climate of New England and what seemed to him the cold hearts of its citizens did not bring much happiness to this warm-hearted son of the tropics. He eked out a poor existence teaching Spanish in Boston, and then made his way to Niagara Falls, of which, poet-like, he had dreamed all his life. His ode to Niagara is the most beautiful of all descriptions of that awe-inspiring sight.

After a year and a half in the United States, Heredia in 1825 went to Mexico, invited by the first president of that nation, Guadalupe Victoria. Mexico proved to be a place of struggle, where Heredia continued to work for the independence of his native land until the Spanish colonial justice condemned him to death. He published

the second edition of his poems here in Mexico, where he became a judge and finally a minister in the cabinet. He translated into Spanish books needed to guide young Mexico, he prepared model laws for the congress, and encouraged everyone who had a leaning toward democracy. Later, in 1836, he obtained permission from the Captain General of Cuba to visit his native land in order to see his mother. Years before, he had contracted tuberculosis and knew that he was not long for this world. During his short visit he was persecuted, and, discouraged in every way, he returned to Mexico, where he died at the age of thirty-five.

Journeying Across the Islands

From the city of Santiago we continue our journey by taking a little coastwise tub which makes each month the trip from Cuba to Haiti, to Santo Domingo, to Porto Rico and return. It is less than a hundred miles across the channel to Haiti, and about the same distance from Santo Domingo to Porto Rico. In spite of the slowness of travel and the crowd on the decks, which included a large family of gypsies born in Philadelphia and now deported from Cuba, the marvelously quiet and beautiful sea made a very pleasant two days to the northern port of Santo Domingo, Puerto Plata.

What vicissitudes have overtaken this Cradle of America since we saw it in our first chapter! More and more neglected, after the first fifty years of its development, it finally, in 1795, was completely abandoned by Spain, and the French tricolor was raised on its soil. A little later it

returned to the Spanish fold, hoping to escape the Haitian Negro dominance, and in 1821 it revolted to secure independence. But the Haitians were upon it, and continued their control for twenty-three years. Erecting an independent government in 1844, Santo Domingo again voted in 1861 to go under the Spanish flag to escape a worse fate. But a few years of such experience sufficed and the republic was restored, to continue until 1916. Then the big uncle from the north took charge, and a rear admiral of the United States Navy, with twenty-five hundred marines, was in command until 1924. With the withdrawal of the marines, Santo Domingo, though still not allowed control of its customs, has set to work to build a new life.

With a million people and plenty of rich land, one finds Santo Domingo the most typical Latin American country of the Antilles, having all the national charm and all the inherited ills, struggling to understand and to direct the new industrial age which is sweeping in from the outside. The center of the tremendous colonial movement in the earliest days of the Spanish conquest, and the oldest of the Spanish-speaking republics in the Antilles, it is now bravely trying to atone for past sins—its own and those of its exploiters—and to develop into a modern state. From the romance of the early days it is setting out on concrete roads into the machine age, hoping that it may at the same time retain its traditional culture.

From Santo Domingo City one can now go over a splendid road by automobile to Port au Prince, the capital city of Haiti, in ten or twelve hours. The contrast between

the progress of Santo Domingo and the backwardness of Haiti, as one crosses the border, is similar to that observed in crossing from the United States to Mexico. The roads are poorer, the houses are distinctly inferior, and the country people, now prevailingly black, run from the automobile as if they were trying to escape the machine age. Haiti is next to Cuba in population, containing nearly 2,500,000 people as against Cuba's 3,500,000, and is ahead of Santo Domingo with its 1,000,000, and of Porto Rico with its 1,500,000. But in everything which marks progress—literacy, public education and health, per capita wealth, foreign trade—it is considerably behind the others; in fact, it is among the last of the countries of the world. It has been almost completely denied the civilizing influences that other American nations have enjoyed.

One of the greatest enigmas of history is how Haiti, so geographically near the country that prides itself upon being the leader of modern civilization, has been kept so far behind the march. Of course there is the argument that because Haiti has not adopted the machinery of modern life is no reason for declaring her to be less happy or less deserving of respect. It is the black man's land, and it asks to be judged by the black man's ideals. But in a world where the white man is dominant, is this possible? Said a young Negro graduate of Harvard recently, "We colored people had placed our hopes of showing the world that we could conduct our own affairs in three different countries, Liberia, Abyssinia and Haiti. But now that Liberia has become the spare tire of Mr. Firestone, and Abyssinia and Haiti have become acces-

sories of Great Britain and the United States, we do not know where we stand." Haiti is not just a little country of two and a half million people, off the beaten track of civilization, but is, as the young student indicated, a kind of symbol, of hope or of despair, for the Negroes of the world.

The long trip of former days from Port au Prince to Porto Rico is now made easy by means of the auto road to Santo Domingo and the weekly service of the New York and Porto Rico Line, which continues its boats from San Juan to the Dominican capital and returns to San Juan the same day. Smallest of the greater Antilles, Porto Rico is the one island that has never been anything but a colony since Ponce de León settled it. With scarcely an insurrection in four centuries, Porto Rico accepted her situation under the American flag without clamor, as she had accepted her situation under the flag of Spain. But today Porto Rico faces a baffling problem of overpopulation. There are about four hundred people to the square mile, a large number of whom go to bed hungry every night. The small farmer, who formerly lived poorly and yet with enough food for his family on his three to fifteen acres, now finds himself crowded off the land and working for a great corporation, with unemployment a constantly acute problem.

The Danish West Indies, now called the Virgin Islands, were purchased by the United States March 3, 1917, the population at that time being twenty-six thousand, ninety-five per cent of it Negro. These three islands lie about sixty miles east of Porto Rico, and have a total area about

one-tenth that of Rhode Island. Since the islands have been taken over they have experienced great suffering, mainly from economic changes resulting from application of United States laws and regulations. It is estimated that nearly half of the population has migrated. Wages in agriculture range from twenty to forty cents a day; for coaling of vessels, done largely by women, the average wage is sixty cents a day, with about two days' work a week. The workers are housed mainly in one-room shacks, and their food is commonly a mess of cornmeal and fish, low in nutritive value. The Virgin Islanders have also suffered from uncertainty about their citizenship, for it seems that now they are citizens neither of Denmark nor of the United States. They are a clean, genial, intelligent people, literate except for about two per cent.

Unity in the West Indies

In few parts of the world would there seem to be less inherent unity than in these multiplied islands of the West Indies, which have been owned by a dozen different powers, supervised in a dozen different ways, with every kind of intricate economic, racial and religious problem. And yet in the four countries with which we are dealing we find, from the very beginning of the independence movement in Latin America in the early days of the nineteenth century, that far-seeing men have felt that these countries should be, if not united, then certainly federated. It was this kinship which made Colombia and Mexico move toward the freeing of Cuba just after they had secured their own independence from Spain. While Haiti, be-

cause of its dominant black blood, has been considered a little bit out of the family, yet in the latter half of the nineteenth century Haiti was one of the prime figures in the movement for political unity that was actuating the islands of Cuba, Santo Domingo and Porto Rico. The distinguished group of idealists who led this movement included Dr. Betances of Porto Rico, Antenor Firmin of Haiti, Torres Caicedo of Colombia, José Martí of Cuba, and Federico Henríquez y Carvajal of Santo Domingo. With Paris and Havana as centers, they worked with great enthusiasm during the last quarter of the century.

One of the greatest of these leaders was Eugenio de Hostos, who was born in Porto Rico and educated in Spain, traveled in all parts of the world, especially in South America, and gave the last fifteen years of his life to education in Santo Domingo. De Hostos was one of those Latin geniuses that seem to be capable of doing any amount of labor in any number of different spheres. He wrote one of the best treatises on constitutional law that has ever been published. His educational principles, promulgated through years of teaching in the normal school in Santo Domingo, illustrate some of the most modern pedagogical theories. A volume of literary and political studies called *Meditando* reveals his intellectual grasp. He was recognized as an authority in literature and politics in Argentina, Chile, Peru, Cuba, as well as in Santo Domingo and Porto Rico. Before Europe had opened scientific careers to women, de Hostos had persuaded the Chilean government to make available to them its courses in medicine and law. He was the first man to urge the importance

in Argentina of the construction of the Trans-Andean Railroad. While in Peru he began a campaign in favor of the protection of the Chinese there, and aided the national government in its controversy concerning the Oroya railroad. He worked arduously for the independence of Cuba, and offered to earn by means of his pen a million pesetas for the Liberal cause. In Santo Domingo he draughted the first laws concerning education, and for nine years directed the public education of that country, where he died in 1905.

Dr. Ramón Emeterio Betances was the Porto Rican member of this group. He studied in France, taking the degree of M.D. in Paris in 1856. When Porto Rico was visited with cholera morbus he gave self-denying services, founding in the town of Mayaguez the San Antonio Hospital. He also began to be distinguished for his secessionist ideas in regard to the political régime and the abolition of slavery. His devotion to the scheme for the confederation of the Antilles won for him the nickname, El Antillano. He formed in the country a secret abolitionist society, and worked in a very practical way for abolition, for he collected funds and bought slave children, had them educated and then set free.

He returned to Paris in 1859 and renewed his intellectual work, writing in French, a language which he knew as his own, works of fiction which revealed his ideas of political philosophy. Returning to Porto Rico in 1860, he worked sacrificially for his altruistic ideals. In 1867, after he was exiled as a conspirator, he visited Haiti, Santo Domingo, Cuba, Venezuela, and the United States,

advocating the independence of the Antilles. His house in Paris was a refuge for all the persecuted of the world. Dr. Betances died in Neuilly, France, in 1898. By act of the legislative assembly of Porto Rico, his remains were brought to his native island two years later, and today they rest in Cabo Rojo. His personality displayed a fascinating dualism: as a man of science, devoted to experiment and study, and as a statesman, dominated by enthusiasm and political dreams.

In this same group a distinguished Negro, Antenor Firmin, represented Haiti. Firmin lived for many years in Paris, where he was the associate of distinguished men. The great Martí wrote to a friend, "Yesterday I spoke of you to an extraordinary Haitian, with whom I became acquainted through Betances and Patria; that is, Antenor Firmin."

Among the Dominicans interested in the project of unity was Dr. Francisco Henríquez y Carvajal, who lived much of his life in Santiago de Cuba, where a visit to his home today will be found a benediction. Like others of this group, he was at home in the cultural centers of many countries of Europe and North and South America. He was a graduate in medicine of the University of Paris, Justice of the Hague Court of Arbitration, Minister of Foreign Affairs, and finally, while living in Cuba, in a crisis in Santo Domingo's affairs he was elected president. He left a lucrative practice in Santiago, built up over a period of years, to accept the call of his country, later suffering the humiliation of being removed from office when the United States intervened there.

It was to Dr. Carvajal's brother, Don Federico, that José Martí, at the close of a long life of struggle for Cuban liberty and the Antillean federation, addressed his famous will and testament in which he bequeathed his political ideals to his friends. It was in Santo Domingo that Martí met Maximo Gomez in earlier days, for the purpose of writing jointly with him their famous declaration for Cuban liberty.

Since the coming of the World War and the introduction of American administrators in each of these countries, little has been heard of an Antilles federation. But there has arisen another movement for unity among the Caribbean countries from an entirely unexpected source. It was initiated in the Martí Theater in Havana on June 20, 1928, when the growing young evangelical churches of the Caribbean nations sent their representatives to confer on the development of that movement and its relation to the great questions of the day. Among the distinguished persons present were the Minister of Foreign Affairs of Cuba, one of whose duties it is to introduce ambassadors; the head of the Latin American section of the League of Nations; a deputy in the Mexican Congress, and delegates from thirteen countries adjacent to the Caribbean.

The Minister of Foreign Affairs on that occasion, with much more enthusiasm than formality, announced that it was with the greatest pleasure that, at the request of the President of the Republic, he had come to bid the delegates of the Evangelical Congress welcome to Cuba and to offer them the cooperation of the government. "While the government of Cuba is entirely separated from any church,"

he said, "it is its privilege to help its citizens and visitors to the republic in every possible legitimate way, and the government considers it a privilege to contribute to the work of any organization which has as its object the ennobling of humanity."

The young orator from Mexico, Herminio Rodriguez, revolutionary soldier, personal friend of President Portes Gil, deputy in the Mexican Congress, and present secretary of the Y.M.C.A. of Mexico City, launched into an analysis of the purpose of the congress. "We have come to work," he declared, "for a more loyal brotherhood and a larger realization of the ideals of our people. Especially do we seek new ways in which we may contribute to solving the various serious problems which are facing all of our Latin American countries today. We come with open minds, ready to readjust our system and our practice in the social, educational and religious world, according to the particular needs of our racial psychology. Social questions, relations between capital and labor, industrial problems, the place of women in the modern world, the civilization and Christianization of the Indian population, the position of university students, and the questions revolving around international peace, are some of the many world perplexing questions which we must face." When the congress held a special meeting on international friendship on the roof garden of the Plaza Hotel, the Cuban government sent its special representative in the person of Dr. F. Martinez Ibor. Numerous other nations, including Spain, Argentina, Chile, Peru, and all the countries around the Caribbean had widely traveled citizens in the audience.

Professor Baez Camargo, a young educator of Mexico, president of the congress, opened it with a stirring address in which he referred to the slaughter in the World War and appealed to all nations to unite in working for peace. Dr. Alva Taylor, from the United States, stated that the Caribbean countries offer as many difficult international complications as any section of the world, their economic interests being so bound up with those of the United States. It is for the Christian people in this country, as well as for those of the Hispanic-American nations around the Caribbean, to eliminate misunderstanding and to work for common justice. "The Monroe Doctrine," said Dr. Taylor, "which has been interpreted in so many different ways in the past, should become a Pan American doctrine."

Dr. Ibor spoke of the deep interest of the Cuban government in international affairs, pointing out that on May 20, 1929, the cornerstone had been laid in Havana for a building to be devoted to activities favoring international peace on the American continent, as the Peace Palace at the Hague has become the center for such movements in Europe. Cuba, he said, is the only country in the world that has furnished both a judge for the World Court, Dr. Bustamante, and a president of the League of Nations Assembly, Dr. Cosme de la Torriente. Her own Cuban Society of International Law does some of the best work of any organization in the world in this field. Cuba has peculiar geographical advantages for leadership, being centrally located for international conferences, and is the only country in America that has no possibility of border disputes, with all her frontiers on the sea.

One of the Cuban delegates, Dr. Luis Alonso, in dealing with some of the larger questions, at another session of the congress, declared:

The function of Protestantism is not that of civilizing . . . Nor do Cuba and Latin America need to be civilized. Our civilization manifests very much the same advantages as other great civilizations in so far as virtue and courage are concerned. Spanish America must be and in fact is, in more than one phase of human progress, a director and not one directed. So the function of Spanish American Protestantism is not one of civilizing but of the creation of spiritual values. While Latin American countries have the republican consciousness, the fact remains that our subconsciousness is colonial. Latin America has not yet paid the price of democracy nor has it consolidated its independence. Usually where a dictator is not in control, the country is governed by a selected few.

The determined North American influence in our work constitutes a disturbance which is seriously felt. International relations of the Latin American countries with the United States are not satisfactory. The conditions which are always produced between powerful and weaker nations are seen here. The commercial power of the United States in its expansion in Latin America has in many cases produced hostility, because behind financial interests there stood as a servant the North American government, which endangered the liberty and sovereignty of small countries. The North American people do not find themselves correctly represented in Latin America, either by their financial interests or, in many cases, by governmental conduct. Latin Americans do not always understand the true sentiment of the North Americans, and their attitudes toward them are often determined by sad and regrettable experiences. Thus they maintain an attitude of reserve. It

is natural that these political, economic and social frictions should slow up the march of the work of Christ. Protestantism must remove all this suspicion, become genuinely indigenous, and express emphatically to the people that the Evangelical church is in no way in sympathy with the immoral conduct of some of the financial enterprises, nor with all the actions of the North American government.

We must become united first with the people, and second among ourselves. To unite ourselves with the Latin American people implies first of all a sympathetic attitude, in which we do not exaggerate their faults but rather exalt their actual values. Then we must become united ourselves, in order to proclaim a single message to them. The people need and will gladly receive the living Christ if he is presented unitedly and in a way that will meet their Latin psychology.

The most important decision of the Havana congress was to work toward the formation of a Latin American Evangelical Federation. It may well be that this and similar movements will bring about a spiritual unity in the West Indies which the political activities of de Hostos, Betances, and other idealists were never able to accomplish. Certainly it should aid the West Indians to call to mind that underneath the question of Yankee dominance to which they give their major attention, are the important and fundamental moral and spiritual considerations without which all struggle for political and economic freedom is vain.

In our trailing of the *conquistadores* we have now taken a brief glimpse of the mighty dons of Spain as they spread over the Americas with Santo Domingo as their base.

Next we noted a few of the buccaneers, and the military activities of England, France, Holland, and the United States, as during three centuries they endeavored to wrest from Spain the white man's burden. In the present chapter we have made the hurried trip of tourists through the four Caribbean countries with which the United States is chiefly concerned. Like all tourist agencies, we want the traveler to go back with us over the same ground. We may then be able to look beneath the surface to find the problems that the *conquistadores* and their successors have left us. While four countries have in common all of the problems we will discuss, we shall select one country as a special illustration of each problem: Cuba with its dependence on a single crop and on foreign financial direction; Haiti with its dominant problem of race; Santo Domingo with its old culture staggering under the new economic drive; Porto Rico with its trials of poverty and overpopulation.

IV

THE DANCE OF THE MILLIONS

It was the year 1920. Everybody in Cuba had a million dollars or expected to have within a few days.

The world at war had wanted sugar. Cuba, next door to the United States, had sugar. When the armistice came and restrictions were taken off, allowing everyone as many lumps in his coffee as he liked and as many bonbons as she liked, the United States Sugar Equalization Board, which had been buying the whole Cuban crop at around six cents, ceased its operations. With governmental price control abandoned, sugar shot up and up, and the millions of dollars began to dance.

Cuban owners of sugar estates were aghast at the enormous prices they were offered. One such, the story goes, decided that prospects were so brilliant that he would put his relatively small property on the market for four and a half millions. Then a rich *Americano* appeared and declared he wanted the property but did not propose to be held up; he would give eight millions and not a cent more; for once, bargaining in Cuba was dispensed with. Perhaps fifty mills, about one-fourth the total number, changed owners in Cuba during 1919 and 1920. Hershey, Hires, Coca Cola and other well-known spreaders of happiness reached into Cuba not, contrary to later advice, for a cigarette but for a sweet. Even the *colono,* the poor man

who raised a little cane to sell to the big mill at its own price, suddenly became prosperous, for the *centrales* feverishly enlarged to supply the ever mounting demand.

Where there's so much more business there ought to be more banks. So in Wall Street they heard the Gulf Stream's call, "Come on in, the water's fine." The National City Bank, already in, multiplied its branches all over the island. The Chase National Bank, the Mercantile Bank of the Americas, the Canadian Bank of Commerce and others opened subsidiaries or branches, and even Cuban bank clerks opened the Banco Internacional de Cuba, expanding to one hundred and two branches before their failure came, four years later. High-powered salesmen easily persuaded the already over-enthusiastic speculator that he should have a finer house, more cars, more trips to Europe. "Let me see some diamonds," said a planter made rich over night, who had rushed to Havana with his family to spend his money. Setting a tray of gems before him, the jeweler picked out a single stone priced at twelve hundred dollars. "What's the lot worth?" "Twenty-two thousand." "All right, wrap 'em up."

Up and up went sugar. The Equalization Board was offered the 1920 crop at six and a half cents. But the board hesitated, for except in time of war our government does not engage in commercial business. So Cuba withdrew the offer, and the refiners made their own arrangements at any price they could. The lid was off. February 18, 1920, sugar was worth in New York nine cents; March 2, ten cents; March 18, eleven; April 1, thirteen; May 14, twenty; and May 19, twenty-two cents.

The idea long dominant in Cuba, that sugar should be the guiding star of the republic, was now firmly fixed. Social, political and all other interests began to be shaped by this one industry. With wages soaring, laborers came from war-worn Europe, and from the Negro population of Jamaica and of Haiti. The problems of syndicalism, peonage, contract labor and race prejudice were developed. Strikes became the order of the day.

The dance of the millions went on. Havana rushed toward modernity. Palaces were built by men formerly paupers. Suburbs and more suburbs were opened in the most approved manner of the cities to the north. Even the workmen found homes purchasable on installment in the new suburban additions. The country club with its surrounding park offered elegance such as is found in few parts of the world. Mr. John M. Bowman of hotel fame, with other well-known Northerners who combine a taste for sport with a Yankee nose for business, took over and modernized downtown hotels and amusement places and became the directors of the Jockey Club, then rapidly becoming the racing center of America. Hostile Cuban legislation was soft-pedaled to encourage the new casino, built to overtop the fame of Monte Carlo and to furnish opportunities for the newly rich from Camaguey and New York to break the record if not the bank. Bigger and better breweries and larger factories for Bacardi prepared to purvey to the oppressed United Statesers, who now came in fast increasing numbers to fraternize for one reason or another with their Cuban neighbors.

But all of a sudden something seemed to go wrong with

the orchestra; the dancers became serious; they turned pale and left their partners in the middle of the floor to join the frantic crowd over in the corner watching the stock ticker tape. The market had gone wild. Sugar dropped from twenty-two and a half to nineteen cents; the next month, June, it was fifteen cents; by December it was selling for three and three-quarter cents, and later for a cent and three-quarters.

Cuba has had many exciting times in her history—when Cortés started for Mexico, when De Soto set off to discover the Mississippi, when Drake occupied Havana, when the flag of "Cuba Libre" was run up on the State House; but nothing in her existence has brought such tenseness, suspense and anxiety as the crisis of 1920-21. Those who had bought sugar at between twelve and twenty and saw it now at two knew that they were ruined. Bankers were the first to make a move to remedy the situation, but unfortunately some of them viewed it at first only as an opportunity to cripple their rivals. Newspapers also began to get back at some of their enemies. There appeared, however, something of a plan to deal unitedly with the terrible situation which was throwing more people into bankruptcy every day. A combination of sugar magnates and bankers issued a call for a mass meeting "to solidify the republic financially and free it from bankruptcy, loss of prestige, and even from extinction." Before this meeting could take place, the run on the banks started.

In order to stop this run, which threatened to submerge every financial institution in Cuba, the government declared a moratorium. This served to check the runs but

it also permitted much traffic in certified checks, and helped holders of large accounts to loot the banks at the expense of the small depositors. The immense increase of foreign investment, and the dominance of Cuba by the sugar industry, in turn controlled by the foreign banks, became evident. New York and Washington were as panicky as Havana. At a conference of American governmental and banking officials a hundred million dollar loan was suggested to enable the Cuban government to stabilize sugar. But that government was not disposed to allow its fiscal control to go to the Federal Reserve Bank.

Along with the financial crisis, Cuba developed a particularly difficult political situation. It often happens that when one member of the family gets sick, an opportunity is furnished for the rest to take to bed also. A presidential election was on, and the power of the retiring President Menocal was used for Alfredo Zayas, which brought on a revolution of protest. Thus the politicians added their bit to the general mess. The party in power waved its hand toward Washington, and the battleship *Minnesota* arrived, carrying on board General Crowder. Although Cuba had protested the despatch of a special mission without previous agreement, yet government officials as well as leaders of the opposition, liberals, conservatives, bankers, sugar magnates, all hurried to greet the representative of Uncle Sam.

By the threat of intervention General Crowder secured the suppression of revolution and the recount of certain election returns. He then turned his attention from political to financial matters.

Cuba's Sugar Export Committee, organized in February, 1921, by Manuel Rionda and R. B. Hawley, began to try to straighten out the situation. Unfortunately the American Congress increased the duty on sugar at about the same time. The Havana banks seemed powerless to raise fresh capital, and in spite of General Crowder's encouraging reports, the financial situation grew worse. On the morning of March 28 José Lopez, one of the wealthiest men in Cuba, was found hanging from his balustrade. The Banco Nacional on that day closed its doors, with liabilities of sixty-seven million dollars, and J. I. Lezama, the leading sugar speculator, called a meeting of his creditors. Eight banks, with a total of a hundred and twenty-three branches headed by the Banco Internacional, failed during the month of May, with an indebtedness of one hundred and thirty million dollars. Many leading financiers left for parts unknown.

Zayas, an unprepossessing, medium-minded politician, and Crowder, as Personal Representative of President Harding, faced this situation together though with opposing theories. If Cuba should now declare herself in default, as in effect she was, it meant full American intervention. So she simply failed to pay her bills for a while, making an effort to reduce salaries and other expenditures and to borrow money. A commercial mission was ordered to Washington to seek more favorable treatment for Cuban sugar. An internal loan of fifty million dollars and a foreign loan of sixty million were authorized. General Crowder advised that the United States' consent to the loan be withheld until the Cuban government agreed that

the American Minister should have the right to inspect the annual budget.

It has been reported that in February, 1922, the United States actually asked Cuba formally to recognize the right of the United States under the Platt Amendment to make critical inquiries into any department of the Cuban government which it should desire to investigate. The Zayas government vigorously refused this permission. However, American commissions of various kinds began to descend upon Cuba, demanded at once the most confidential information, and proceeded to tell President Zayas and the Cuban Congress just what measures, both moral and financial, they should take. Many were the recriminations of those days. Finally Mr. Dwight W. Morrow, representing J. P. Morgan and Company, was able to bring all parties together, and the Morgan company secured a loan of five million dollars for the Cuban government, this loan to become part of another loan of fifty million dollars. But the arrangement came too late to prevent much of Cuba's property from passing into the hands of foreigners, who foreclosed their mortgages.

By 1923 Cuba was again feeling prosperous, an economic boom began, and sugar was again selling at six cents. President Zayas now "governed as well as presided," and graft became easier and enlarged, with some of the foreign pressure removed. General Crowder's position was regularized, and he became, instead of the President's Personal Representative, the American Ambassador. A new era in the Platt Amendment had been registered.

This change was not accomplished, however, without

much bitter feeling. The New York *Times* reported that Havana papers charged that American financiers were attempting "to force on Cuba another obligation in order to bring the country completely under their control, open the way to fiscal intervention, and place the island in the same category as Haiti, Santo Domingo, Nicaragua and Panama." Cuban party leaders of both houses of Congress opposed the loan, calling it "another link in the golden chain binding Cuba to the chariot of the United States."

It will be seen how the simple phrases of the Platt Amendment were being interpreted more and more as authorizing the United States to advise on the internal affairs of Cuba, any of which might lead at some future time to a plea for intervention. It would be well, then, for us to consider just what this much talked-of amendment is.

Cuba and the Platt Amendment

Just what is the Platt Amendment? It seems to be running the Monroe Doctrine a close second in the matter of elastic interpretation.

When the United States declared war on Spain, April 18, 1898, Congress stated: "The United States hereby disclaims any disposition or intention to exercise sovereignty, jurisdiction, or control over said island [Cuba] except for the pacification thereof, and asserts its determination, when that is accomplished, to leave the government and control of the island to its people."

In December of that year, in signing the Treaty of Paris,

Spain relinquished "all claim of sovereignty over and title to" Cuba. The United States then established, under General Leonard Wood, a military administration, notable for its campaign against yellow fever and for many other reforms. This administration lasted until May, 1902. Local elections were held in September, 1900, under the supervision of the military government. A convention met two months later, which by February of the following year had agreed upon a constitution patterned after that of the United States.

Although the Cuban convention had been instructed by General Wood to reach an agreement with the United States "concerning the relations between the two governments," the original draft of the constitution did not treat of this matter. The Congress of the United States then enacted the amendment proposed by Senator Platt, which authorized the President of the United States to "leave the government and control of the island of Cuba to its people as soon as a government shall have been established in said island under a constitution which, either as a part thereof or an ordinance appended thereto, shall define the future relations of the United States with Cuba substantially as follows." Of the eight articles of the famous amendment, these are the first five:

Article I. The government of Cuba shall never enter into any treaty or other compact with any foreign power or powers which will impair or tend to impair the independence of Cuba, nor in any manner authorize or permit any foreign power or powers to obtain by colonization or for military or naval purposes, or otherwise, lodgment in or control over any portion of said island.

Article II. The government of Cuba shall not assume or contract any public debt to pay the interest upon which, and to make reasonable sinking-fund provision for the ultimate discharge of which, the ordinary revenues of the island of Cuba, after defraying the current expenses of the government, shall be inadequate.

Article III. The government of Cuba consents that the United States may exercise the right to intervene for the preservation of Cuban independence, the maintenance of a government adequate for the protection of life, property, and individual liberty, and for discharging the obligations with respect to Cuba imposed by the Treaty of Paris on the United States, now to be assumed and undertaken by the government of Cuba.

Article IV. All acts of the United States in Cuba during its military occupancy thereof are ratified and validated, and all lawful rights acquired thereunder shall be maintained and protected.

Article V. The government of Cuba will execute, and, as far as necessary, extend the plans already devised, or other plans to be mutually agreed upon, for the sanitation of the cities of the island, to the end that a recurrence of epidemic and infectious diseases may be prevented, thereby assuring protection to the people and commerce of Cuba, as well as to the commerce to the Southern ports of the United States and the people residing therein.

The three remaining articles provide that the title to the Isle of Pines shall be left for future adjustment, that Cuba shall sell or lease to the United States necessary lands for naval stations, and that these agreements shall all be embodied in a permanent treaty between the two countries.

The enactment was received in Cuba with excite-

ment, and a special committee was sent to Washington to protest against the island's being coerced into declaring itself unfit for self-government. The United States assured the Cubans that the amendment did not mean the establishment of a protectorate, but that the withdrawal of troops and the setting up of an autonomous government depended on its adoption.

President McKinley declared his view that the third clause of the amendment was not "synonymous with intermeddling or interference with the affairs of the Cuban government." Secretary Root stated that the United States government did not wish nor was it attempting to intervene; that the clause referred to was simply an extension of the Monroe Doctrine, "a doctrine which has no international force recognized by all nations. Cubans accept the Monroe Doctrine," he said, "and Clause III is the Monroe Doctrine, but with international force . . . These clauses do not give the United States greater rights than it had at the time of its recent intervention."

Subject to this interpretation, the Cuban Constitutional Convention, realizing that only thus could American soldiers be removed, agreed, June 12, 1901, to include the Platt Amendment as an appendix to the constitution. The following year President Roosevelt said that "in a sense Cuba has become a part of our political system." Our first intervention took place when President Palma was beginning his second term in 1906. A revolution having broken out, the United States announced a provisional government, with Secretary of State Taft as its head. The occupation was withdrawn in a little more than two years, but difficul-

ties continued. In 1912 the Cuban veterans of the war with Spain threatened revolt, demanding that the administration remove from office Cubans who had fought on the side of Spain. About the same time the Independent Party of Color, a Negro organization, began an armed movement, claiming that it had been debarred from putting an electoral ticket in the field.

When President Gomez reported that he would not be able to "guarantee absolute protection" to foreign property, Secretary of State Knox issued a note "in the hope of somewhat steadying the situation and thereby assisting the government of Cuba to put down the present uprising." Four companies of marines were landed June 5, 1912. The revolt ended in about a month.

In 1917 the United States was again confronted with the question of intervention. President Menocal, despite a promise to serve only one term, after a stormy campaign was declared reelected. Opinion was freely expressed, however, that Zayas, the Liberal candidate, had actually won. During the next seven months the Liberals were in revolt. The United States sent warships, declaring that it supported constitutional government and also that "as the Allied Powers and the United States must depend to a large extent upon the sugar production of Cuba, all disturbances which interfere with the production must be considered as hostile acts."

Thus there have been at least five revolutions or attempts at revolutions in Cuba since the country gained its independence, and in each case the United States has apparently thrown its influence against the revolution. At various

other times the United States has used the Platt Amendment as justification for representations to Cuba concerning sanitation, limitation of loans, and legislation affecting foreign concessions. When President Menocal cancelled the foreign-owned concession held by the Cuban Ports Company, the American State Department expressed fear that "the attitude of the Cuban government in this matter would seriously impair" Cuba's credit. The Cuban government replied that "the so-called Platt Amendment was not involved."

When in 1912 the Cuban Congress was considering giving British capitalists the Caibarien-Nuevitas railway concession, which involved a subsidy, our State Department telegraphed urging the postponement of such action, "emphasizing the burden it would impose on the Cuban treasury in favor of capital which is neither American nor Cuban." In the same year the Cuban government granted the rights to certain forests and lands in the Zapata swamps to the Agricultural Company of Zapata on condition that it reclaim the swamp for agricultural purposes. Secretary Knox protested that this concession "seems to be so clearly ill-advised a project, so improvident and reckless a waste of revenue and natural resources, that this government is impelled to express to the government of Cuba its emphatic disapproval of the same." President Gomez replied that the Platt Amendment did not "authorize or signify meddling in internal affairs . . . for such a supervision . . . would be destructive of the independence of the republic."

Since 1918 Cuba has been trying to gain recognition among the nations on the basis of complete equality.

Demonstrating her freedom from the United States, she ratified the Treaty of Versailles and joined the League of Nations, and in various other ways has taken pains to demonstrate her complete sovereignty. When a Uruguayan diplomat was reported to have questioned before the League of Nations the entire independence of Cuba because of the existing Platt Amendment, Cuba broke off diplomatic relations with Uruguay until a disavowal was made. Numerous Cuban leaders have advocated the modification of the Platt Amendment, and the Cuban Society of International Law has asked that it be converted into a "treaty of alliance."

Advocates of the amendment point to past political disturbances and government graft as showing that without that safeguard Cuba would have gone on the rocks. Others answer that Cuba will never learn self-government so long as its officials know that the United States will allow no revolution, however despotic a Cuban government may become, and that final responsibility will be assumed by Washington for cleaning up any predicament official mismanagement may bring.

Sugar Dominates

The Platt Amendment has only one rival in public discussion in Cuba and that is the sugar crop.

It is commonplace knowledge that the sugar industry is to Cuba what corn is to the United States, coffee to Brazil, tea to Japan. Cuba's five million tons' output each year constitutes a fourth of the world's production, and supplies the United States with an inexhaustible sugar bowl. We

are extraordinarily great sugar eaters, consuming about a hundred pounds per capita annually, and we take sixty per cent of the Cuban sugar crop. The Arabs are said to have brought sugar to Europe by way of Spain, and from there in 1502 Pedro Atienza brought the first plant to Santo Domingo, whence Governor Diego Velásquez introduced it into Cuba about 1520. It was not until a hundred years later, when the English turned Barbados and Jamaica into great producers of sugar, rum and molasses, that Cuba began to concentrate on sugar.

Machinery for extracting the juice from the cane has advanced with the industry, from the primitive hand-press, or later fruit-press, steam or cattle driven, to the modern steam mills. Instead of the old thirty-six per cent, the modern mill extracts ninety-four per cent of sugar from the cane. In the old days the juice was boiled and the residual molasses drained through holes in the bottom of big hogsheads, burly barefooted negresses speeding the process by trampling the cane. Today the whole process of production, grinding and shipping has been mechanized. While the ox-cart is still seen in the field or on the roads, cane-cars, marked with the name of the *central* to which they belong, are familiar objects on the Cuban railways. Besides the old creaking ox-carts, with sometimes as many as eight yoke to draw them, one sees "a caterpillar tractor heaving like a prehistoric monster along the roads, or a battered gas-truck snorting and jerking its way to some near-by mill."

Americans, British, Canadians and Cubans own most of the more than two hundred great mills of the island, with their miles of railway, engines, generators, condensers and

shops, the machinery being usually the product of the General Electric Company of Cuba and the United States.

The grinding season is usually from December-January to April-May. Its exact date of beginning is announced by the government, a date which in turn is controlled chiefly by weather conditions. "When the news is broadcast, it sets in motion myriad hopes, plans and ambitions. The echo is heard in far-off Hawaii, in the beet-fields of Europe, in Bombay bazaars, in Australia, in London and America."

The *colono* grows his supply of cane for the mill either on his own land or on land for which he contracts with this purpose. He seldom raises foodstuffs, and he lives in a most primitive way. Dr. Luis Machado, one of Cuba's outstanding younger men, a graduate of Candler College, president of the Y.M.C.A. and a Cuban adviser in the League of Nations conferences, observes that though the Cubans might be the richest people in the world, they are generally poor. He says, in effect, that the Cuban rural population lives submerged in misery, in huts of palm leaves, lacking even the most elementary things of modern life. The people have to live for twelve months on the product of the work of a four-months' sugar crop, and the daily wage is so small that it merely permits them to subsist. Their food is usually rice, beans, jerked beef, condensed milk and coffee, practically all imported from foreign countries. Indeed Cuba has become so dependent on foreign supplies of food that in 1926 nearly thirty-nine per cent of the total imports consisted of alimentary products. Also the sugar industry has resulted in the importation of contract labor. Between 1913 and 1921 eighty thousand Haitians

and seventy-five thousand Jamaican laborers entered the country. It is estimated that half a million men are employed in the sugar industry, and that almost half of these are foreigners, chiefly of Negro and Spanish extraction.

A brilliant Spanish critic, Luis Araquistain, has recently written a book, *La Agonia Antillana,* in which he claims that the Caribbean countries under the influence of the United States are being "re-Africanized." He expresses the belief that the agony of the Antilles, while not yet the agony of death, is a death struggle between the small landowners and the increasing wave of black labor employed by the great new foreign corporations. He says:

The work of political and social decadence initiated [in the Antilles] by different European nations—with the exception of Spain, the only one which in its colonies maintained the predominance of the white race—is being completed by the United States. Spain Europeanized her possessions, while France, England, Holland, Denmark, and now the North American Republic, Africanized theirs; destroying the germs of nationality and white civilization which the earliest colonizers bore from Europe. Much has been said, with justice, against the Spanish colonization of America; but the criticism of other modern colonization as yet remains unwritten. What is lacking above all is a good history of comparative colonization. The Antilles afford a fertile field for study.

This Africanization the author links up with the problem of absentee landlordism, maintaining that both these dangerous factors were absent under the Spanish régime.

Araquistain took his major ideas from a remarkable book by a Cuban writer, Ramiro Guerra y Sanchez, entitled

Azucar y Poblacion en las Antillas. The book begins with a study of Barbados which, with an area of only a hundred and sixty-six square miles, has a population of 195,000—about twelve hundred to the square mile, probably the most densely populated portion of the earth. Only about fifteen thousand of the inhabitants are white. Barbados presents in miniature, within a brief compass of years, the same economic process as that which has developed in the other islands of the Antilles, with sugar as the basis. In 1627 Sir William Courteen was given the privilege of colonizing Barbados. By 1643 the island had 37,000 white men, more than at any other time in its history. In the beginning various crops were raised, but sugar began to predominate, and between 1640 and 1650 a remarkable industrial development was registered. While at first there were numerous small planters, these were gradually eliminated and large states developed. The small landowners began to migrate, and African slaves were brought in to take their place, and today the poverty-stricken Negroes live miserably on a wage scale of about twenty-five cents a day. The book, written to show that the same thing is happening today in the larger islands of the Antilles, gives a history of sugar in Cuba from the time when it was introduced into the island in 1520. When slavery was permitted by Philip II in 1595, sugar estates began to take on new importance.

Following the separation of Cuba from Spain, the sugar industry grew rapidly until the World War turned the attention of the whole world to Cuba as a producer of sugar for the Allies. We have already seen the tragic results of concentrating all the energies of the nation on the produc-

tion of one single crop, which reached its climax in "the dance of the millions." According to Señor Guerra y Sanchez:

The great problem today is for Cuba to recover her land and have it worked by her own people. We must not forget that great public works, like the Central Highway, the new Malecon, the magnificent Capitol building, the enlargement of the Havana aqueduct, which are being developed under our illustrious President, may exist tomorrow for the admiration of citizens and foreigners without the country and its democratic institutions themselves subsisting. . . . The Cuban people ought to fix their roots deeply in Cuban soil. From that soil they must take their energy and their life. If we lose our soil we have lost all, including liberty and honor.

Since the crisis of 1920 the Cuban government has made an effort to remedy the present economic depression and resultant social evils which are affecting so profoundly all departments of Cuban life. In all probability the most important plan is that of a diversification of crops. The Cuban Department of Agriculture is actively engaged in teaching farmers how to plant and cultivate a number of minor crops which it is hoped will reduce the present imports of produce that could as well be grown at home. How far this diversification of crops would help the Cuban tub to stand on its own bottom—that is, to eliminate the dominance of foreign capital and foreign political control—is a question Cubans are persistently pursuing.

Today North American capital in Cuba dominates not only the sugar industry but several other vital interests: the food that the people eat, the railroads, street cars and motor

vehicles on which they ride and ship their goods, their lighting system, their water system, their telephones and radios, the news associations and cables from which they get the news, the presses on which they print their literature, the very dollar they use in going to market, since American currency has almost completely eliminated the Cuban in ordinary transactions.

Moral Responsibilities

How intimately this whole subject of economic relationship between Cuba and the United States is bound up with the spiritual relationship between the two countries was illustrated in the Conference of the Evangelical Churches of the Caribbean held in Havana in June, 1929. The North American delegation found itself in an embarrassing position because of the high feeling in Cuba over the proposed raising of the sugar tariff.

Indeed a situation like the one in Cuba cannot be contemplated without raising serious questions in the minds of Americans interested in ethical and spiritual values. Are we really aware of the degree and the kind of influence we exert on the Cuban people? How far is responsibility felt by the citizen who owns bonds in one of these great Cuban-American enterprises, and how far does the ordinary citizen with no financial investment realize that we are all involved? Capital from the United States has developed Cuban resources and put them at the service of the world in a thousand ways. It has been the most powerful agency in bringing to Cuba the comforts of modern civilization. In a time of crisis it rescued a bankrupt people. But it has

also encouraged extravagance, overproduction, ruinous competition, and political corruption, national and international. Its powers for good and for evil are incalculable, and its ramifications are past tracing by the most skilful economist. Nevertheless, even though he is not an expert, Mr. Average Citizen, now that his country is launched on a program of dominating other nations financially, should at least be aware of the influence such a policy is having both on others and on ourselves.

Fortunately there are American capitalists who are facing some of these problems to the extent at least of returning some of their money made in Cuba to projects that will help Cubans. Several of the large mills have developed widespread welfare programs, and business men are beginning to speak as the President of the American Chamber of Commerce recently did to his fellow North Americans: "American investments in Cuba amount to $1,500,000. All of the profits produced by this immense investment come to you; all the bond interest, all the dividends, all of the gain from sales, all of the unearned increment. The question is, what are you doing in turn for Cuba? You complained because Spain took away all the profits and put nothing back, but what universities have you provided? What hospitals have you built? What asylums have you established? What libraries have you provided? Think well of these things. Opportunity and responsibility as well as the flag and potential profits go with capital."

Of course this is only one side of the question. Modern society cannot approve a man's making his money any way he pleases and then clearing his conscience by giving

liberally to philanthropic enterprises; any more than it can approve a government's gaining control of another country by any kind of means and then claiming justification and honor among its own citizens and gratitude from the others by establishing public hospitals, schools and roads.

A leading Cuban daily, in discussing the proposed trip of President Hoover to the West Indies, criticized the Washington *Post* for its editorial attitude in placing Cuba in the same category with Haiti, Santo Domingo, Porto Rico, and the Virgin Islands—"as though all the islands in the group were under the protection and tutorship of the United States." After bitterly complaining of this attitude in general, the Cuban editor remarked:

The so-called Platt Amendment is an old treaty which we have pigeonholed in our archives and which we aspire to eliminate as soon as possible. But not even out of that treaty do the arguments advanced by the Washington *Post* deserve to be considered. If Mr. Hoover is going to come to Cuba, let it be as President of one country visiting another free nation. But we do not want him to come to our shores like a tutor or as a would-be benefactor. And above all we want him to come aware of the fact that Cuba's welfare does not depend on foreign determinations. Our progress is and will always be the consequence of our own virtues, our patriotism, our spirit of enterprise.

All of which one certainly might wish with all his heart were true. But does it square with the facts? The United States has in reality thrust itself into the very heart of the economic and political life of Cuba. What we have not done is truly to interest ourselves in her spiritual life. What one misses in Cuba today is that passionate idealism

which inspired its great men like Heredia, Varela, Luz y Caballero and Martí. "Where there is no vision the people perish." For a hundred years Cuban thought revolved around the idea of independence. When that was secured, spiritual struggle and sacrifice for ideals seemed to cease. Many well-informed Cubans question whether their country is making any progress today in social and moral movements.

Parents are familiar with the vexing question as to whether they should continue to exercise authority and assume responsibility for immoral and improvident acts of their offspring in advanced adolescence, risking a break over refusing to make the payment on the overdrawn check or the bailing out for speeding, or whether the best way is to put the young fellow on his own responsibility and let him know that he will have to pay for his own folly. With the Platt Amendment, Cubans in power are quite sure they can go the limit in graft and petty persecutions, and no one will be allowed to start a revolution, because law and order must be maintained.

The tendency is for Cubans who are in power to curry favor with Washington so that there will be no reason for intervention, and then proceed to do as they like in purely domestic matters, at the expense of their own people. They know that whatever may be the moral shock of local policies, there will be little chance of forceful protest, since Washington is not disposed to interfere except when the issue affects its own or an international interest. Whatever may be the advantages of the Platt Amendment for preserving order, it seems to discourage inevitably the pas-

sion for moral and social justice. The very elements in the United States that have most strongly inveighed against pacifism in their own country are the ones who most strongly insist on peace at any price being the only program for Cuba. Here indeed is an interesting anomaly. The advocates of big navies, preparedness and "America first" are the very ones who take the position that we must push the Platt Amendment to the limit in order that the Cubans shall take no steps that in the remotest way might lead to a disturbance of the peace. Certainly no one wants to see Cuba return to armed strife. But an outward semblance of peace enforced by an outside power which does not at the same time assume responsibility for enforcing justice, hardly seems to be the best condition for developing the political and moral life of the people.

How to solve the complicated political and economic problems of Cuba is too great a question for us to precipitate here. But every American must be desirous of having a part in working out an experiment in international partnership which in its beginning challenged the finest idealism of both nations, but which now threatens to descend into purely sordid materialism and distrust.

Says the brilliant young attorney, Dr. Emilio Roig, one of a group of liberals who are working for a new Cuba:

We have changed our form of government, but in reality the republic differs little from the colony. Our legislation has been little improved. Most of our public vices against which we struggled in the old days are still with us. Our public treasury has been converted into a patrimony for our officials, their relatives and their friends. Cock fights and

all classes of gambling devices infect the poor and the rich alike. Our public education is going backward and our illiteracy is increasing, and even in our higher institutions of learning the selection of teachers is on the same basis as is found in ward politics. We have not improved our stock with injections of virile and moral immigration. After complete separation of church and state, we have lately seen the religious question again present itself. And yet we have added two new evils: our lands and our resources are passing into the hands of foreigners, and our life has been demoralized by our special political relations with the United States, since this serves not only to corrupt our officials but also to rob the ordinary citizen of faith in himself or in his government. What is the remedy? . . . Not the destruction of one bad government to bring in a similar one, but a revolution that will purify, having inscribed on its banner the one word, regeneration; a revolution fought with more than soldiers—with apostles, and in which the most important battles take place within the conscience of each one of us; a revolution in the home, rather than in the public plaza; a revolution in which books will be more powerful than guns, and schools more powerful than armies.

V

THE CURSE ON HAM

Drums, shadows, forests, mystery—Haiti! No guitars or gondolas, no courting of señoritas behind barred windows, no scenes on the plaza where women with brilliant fans strolling in one direction, and youths with poetic gestures strolling in the other, pass and repass in a recurrent stream. Put away the mandolin and the picture of the sweetheart smiling on the balcony. Bring on the drum and the mystery of tropical forests—not the deafening drum of the city Negroes' brass band but the muffled drum of the dim distances. In "The Emperor Jones" Eugene O'Neill arranged that the distant drum should beat continuously all through the play. That made the drama Haitian more than all the scenery and the lines. If you have never heard the long, low, distant call of the drum and prowled through the woods in an endeavor to answer its call, you have never been to Haiti, though you may have lived in its port for a decade.

The soft deep drum notes carry such a long distance and seem so to come from every direction, that only the skilled can successfully follow to where the drummer is. Alternate these long deep notes with sharp staccato ones, and heart and body begin answering to the rhythm. As the beats become faster and wilder, the drummer is overcome with memories deep-seated in the race which take him back to

his African home. He sees in the forests around him the gathering of goats and serpents, and the long line of African girls who respond to every emotion evoked by the drummer with movements of their arms, their feet, their hips. The spirits are here: the benevolent Papa Legba, guardian of the gates; the wise Damballa, with the snake as his symbol; Loco, god of the forest; Ogoun, the bloody one with voice like thunder; and many more. They watch the processions of men and women chanting antiphonally, and they see the sacred black bull led to the sacrificial altar. The good spirits are pleased, the evil ones flee into the forest.

All this the drummer sees as he drums, for he is transported back to his original home in Guinea. His companions, who have come at his call from town and farm alike, see it too and reenact it, and when the moon pales they return to their homes and to the drudgeries of life. Once again they have appeased the anger of their gods and received into themselves the wisdom of the serpent, the strength of the bull, the wonder and the mystery of the forest.

Superstition? Ignorance? Inferiority? Challenge to superior whites to drive out, with swift hard blows, such indecent sorcery? As long as the white man, who has his own superstitions and revelries, his prejudice against other races, goes to Haiti to destroy voodoo by force and teach the Negro his inferior place, so long the white man will fail with the Negro. He will fail to understand the Negro's soul, fail to win the Negro's regard, fail to better the Negro's way of life.

From the time when the white man undertook to enslave the Negro he began to look about for a religious basis to justify his economic program—a not unusual practice. He thought he could find it in the eleventh chapter of Genesis, which reports that Noah, incensed at his son Ham, who, when he saw his father drunk, did not try to cover it (and him), declared, "Cursed be Ham [Canaan]. A servant of servants shall he be unto his brethren." When the white man discovered America and the route around Africa, and new conditions began to call for imported labor on his extending acres, it was discovered that the voice of Noah was the voice of God. The Africans, supposed descendants of Ham, could be enslaved to carry out God's plan as well as for the purpose of cultivating the white man's sugar and cotton. Since the abolition of African slavery among the whites, that particular exegesis of scripture has gradually absented itself from Christian pulpits, though it is still preached with effectiveness in books like *The Rising Tide of Color*.

In the light of the conviction in the minds of a majority of the white race today that the black race is predestined to inferiority, the fundamental question concerning Haiti would seem to be: Is it possible for an independent government of, for and by Negroes, to exist in a world dominated by whites?

A Glance at Haitian History

We are likely to forget that the people who were wrenched from their native African haunts and crowded into the holds of stinking ships bound for the West

Indies, had created back in Africa a notable civilization.

The terrific change from their environment in Africa, the emotional strain due to the separation of members of a family, the long sufferings on the voyages, and the overburdening labor, caused a very large death rate in Haiti. Over a million slaves were imported there during the eighteenth century. A conservative estimate of the number at the time of the uprising against the whites in 1798 was four hundred and fifty thousand.

With these Haitian inhabitants the French colonists were cruel and exacting. The masters lived on their great plantations, largely in idleness, importing their styles and dilettanteisms from Paris, with no interest in the blacks except driving them to produce all possible revenue. The mulatto class, the result of union between the French planters and the choicest of the women slaves as concubines, were bold and insolent. The division between them and the native stock was as great as between slaves and masters.

Many of these Haitian slaves came from noble families, accustomed in Africa to rule. Of such was Mackendal, one of the first Negroes who dared to plan for liberty in Haiti. One day in about the year 1750 he disappeared in the forests, and the drums began to wireless mysterious messages to the slaves. To the planters the drums only announced a dance; the Africans must be allowed to satisfy their cravings for rhythm. To the slaves, however, the drums meant another meeting under the spell of Mackendal and renewed dreams of freedom.

But Mackendal was exposed and captured. The blacks must be taught a lesson. He was condemned to die, and in the great plaza at Cap Haitien he was bound to the stake and flames burst up around him. However, the Negroes were sure that he escaped—was he not even able to turn into a fly or a mosquito and thus outwit the whites?

It was hoped that such lessons in blood would suffice for the slaves. It might have been effective longer had not the French Revolution and the new declaration of the Rights of Man broken on Haiti like an earthquake. All men were born free and equal! Slavery was abolished! Away with the whip and the cudgel! Forward on the road to freedom! "But wait," replied the Haitian planters. "That status was to hold good only for France. The provision of equality didn't apply to the colonies." The blacks retorted, "We will show you that it did." And they made plans accordingly.

A young mulatto idealist, Vicente Ogé, returning from his university courses in Paris, threw himself into the struggle for liberty. He, too, inexperienced and soft from the easy Parisian life, was easily taken and sent to the stake. He met his fate on the plaza already baptized with the blood of Mackendal. The sensitive head of the young student was raised on a pole and kept beside the road as an example to others who might stir up trouble. But far from calming resentment, it fanned it into flame, soon to burst forth into a holocaust.

In the charming yarn, *Black Majesty,* Vandercook imagines a scene at the tropical harbor of Cap Haitien on a hot day in June, 1779. A trading vessel from St. Kitts

glides in toward shore. The captain offers, among other bargains, a tall, handsome young Negro, proud and straight as a Roman. Of noble parentage from the Sudan, Christophe was the sort of servant desired by a young officer who was sailing that day, in company with other volunteers, to fight for America's independence from the British.

On the same wharf where this trade was made sat a young, squatty, ugly, burly black, whose very appearance on his recent arrival from Africa had caused such repulsion that he was allowed by the whites to be sold to a Negro. The young slave had been recently christened with the French name of Jean Jacques Dessalines. His surly attitude warned people away, as do the strong threatening jaws of a bull pup.

On the docks stood a coach, driven in that day from a neighboring plantation by a little dried-up figure of middle age, later to be known as the great L'Ouverture, the Opener. Now he is Toussaint, a quiet little black man appreciated by his master because he seldom left the plantation, did his work well, and spent his spare moments reading books.

These three men separated. The upstanding Christophe went to Savannah to fight with the Americans for the independence they were seeking. The surly Dessalines went back to his master's plantation to sulk and to nurse the wounds inflicted by his owner, the marks of these beatings being exhibited proudly by him to his courtiers years later when he became king. The silent Toussaint drove his lord and lady back to their home and slipped out to the stable to read more books. A strange trio indeed, but they were destined to work mightily for the freedom

of their people, after they had paid back, lash for lash, life for life, with compound interest, every cruelty heaped on their people by the whites for two hundred years.

None of the three was the first Haitian to declare against the whites, however. A voodoo ceremony famous in the annals of Haiti's history and held on the night of August 14, 1791, was led by a slave named Boukmann to initiate the reign of terror which resulted a few days later in the massacre of every white man, woman and child discovered in the rich plains around the Cap. Thus began a period of cruelty, trickery, reprisal and cold-blooded murder, in which there is little choice in conduct between the blacks and the whites.

The little black coachman delayed no longer. Having seen his master safely out of danger, Toussaint crossed his Rubicon. He enlisted and learned military tactics under the Spanish, who were encroaching on the French section of the island during this period of disorder. When France officially declared slavery in Haiti to be abolished, Toussaint joined the French. When the French authorities, however, wavered on this question of freedom, and divisions between royalists and liberals, mulattoes and slaves, brought complete anarchy, Toussaint again opposed the French and drove them, with the recently arriving English, out of the island.

Having established his absolute authority, Toussaint turned his attention to building up the desolated land. The rich soil was made to produce in abundance, idlers were put to work, every inhabitant of Haiti was compelled to produce every possible bit of food, to develop every

foot of ground. Young men were sent to France for education, the army was severely disciplined, voodooism was prosecuted, nocturnal dances were forbidden. Napoleon's legions would soon be coming, thought Toussaint, and Haiti must be ready. Friendships were cultivated with foreign governments, and the first of the blacks became known the world around as a new savior and leader of the oppressed.

The legions of Napoleon did come back, under the command of his famous brother-in-law, Leclerc, but the retreat from Russia offered no sadder picture than the dismal death and failure of the expedition to Haiti. Disease, famine, lack of money, and failure of help from home completed its utter defeat. Only one part of his instructions was Leclerc able to carry out, the arrest through strategy and lying of Toussaint, who was sent in chains to France to die in a mountain dungeon. Thus passed from the scene one of the world's remarkable characters, Toussaint L'Ouverture.

This black man played with the biggest issues and the greatest statesmen of his day. When France agreed to free the slaves in Haiti, he accomplished for her the expulsion from the island of both the Spanish and the English. When France went back on her agreement, he won the friendship of President Adams, then about to head his country into war with France, and the President actually gave aid in overcoming a revolt of the mulattoes. But later the United States signed a peace with France, as did England. It was then that Napoleon decided to build up a great American empire with Haiti as a base

and sent Leclerc to reconquer that island. Napoleon's dream failed, and Louisiana was sold to the United States. This meant that the United States and not France was to become the dominant power in America. For big stakes indeed did L'Ouverture play, and he won straight through until the enemy, incapable of defeating him in an open fight, resorted to treachery and cowardice.

To avenge this perfidy and to assuage the wounds of his slave days, Dessalines, the second of the triumvirate, swung into the saddle. He was not the statesman, the organizer, the far-seeing leader of his race that was Toussaint. But he knew how to be cruel. He could invent more deceptions and punishments than the French had been able to, with all their brilliancy, although in Rochambeau, who succeeded Leclerc, he had a worthy rival. Rochambeau had been a slaveholder in Haiti. He "knew the nigger." He imported a shipload of bloodhounds from Cuba, and on Sunday afternoons entertained his friends by training the hounds to treat the whites kindly and to tear the vitals out of blacks. Rochambeau later found another use for these animals. In the last days, just before he was driven from the island, leaving the slaves as its masters, he and his officers kept off starvation by eating the hounds.

Dessalines, having driven out the French completely, assumed the dictatorship of Haiti, establishing her independence in 1804. Dessalines now proved himself as hard on the Haitians as he had been on the French. His colossal ignorance and cruelty caused the mulattoes in the south to rise against him and accomplish his assassination. This

revolution was led by the able and cultured mulatto Alexandre Pétion, who headed in Port au Prince from 1807 to 1818 a constitutional and benign administration. Pétion was a friend of Simón Bolívar and other of the world's distinguished political and literary leaders. Haitian troops sent by him to Bolívar in Venezuela helped turn the tide for South American independence, as Haitian troops at Savannah three decades before had helped turn the tide for North American independence.

With the assassination of Dessalines in 1811, the third member of the group observed on the wharf at Cap Haitien twenty-eight years before, succeeded to power in the north. Christophe the black ruled as a vigorous and successful despot, while Pétion the mulatto governed legally in the south.

Christophe had had many strange experiences that had registered confused impressions in his mind before he came to occupy the palace of Sans Souci. After he had mixed in the business of fighting for liberty in Savannah, he returned with his master to Cap Haitien and was sold to a free Negro named Coidovic, who kept an inn. There he often overheard the guests discussing their affairs with their mulatto mistresses, and berating the children of these women whom their fathers were in honor bound to free. His blood boiled at the contempt he heard these men express for the Negro.

When Christophe became king he could write only half his name. He had never read a book. His only educated associates had been the half-drunken guests of the hotel where he was a waiter. But he had been to Savannah; he

had been closely associated with Toussaint and Dessalines; he had tramped through blood for a quarter of a century, dreaming of the day when black would equal white. He resolved to make his desolate land rich and respected. He struck first on a scheme to fill his empty treasury. A most important instrument for the peasant was the gourd, his drinking cup. Gourds were declared state property and ordered brought to the Cap. Over two hundred thousand were collected, and soon everyone began to need gourds. So gourds were used to pay for the coffee crop, which was in turn sold to the foreigner for gold. Thus the treasury was filled with gold currency, and the coin of the realm named what it is called today, *gourde.*

Every man and woman was required to work from sunup to sundown each day, with two hours off at noon. Landlords were required to furnish medical attention and to support the aged and infirm. Haiti was becoming rich again. A small merchant marine developed. Christophe having heard of the Lancastrian system of schooling in England, six teachers of that school were imported. Replicas of English school buildings were erected, and soon hundreds of children of former slaves were preparing themselves for the new age. Every boy of ten or over must learn a trade. Philadelphia spinsters appointed as governesses for the princesses found themselves at home in Christophe's court as he reminisced about his adventures in the American Revolution.

But the day came, as he had predicted, when his strong hands would tremble in weakness. On the day when his people rebelled against his program of forced labor, Chris-

tophe dressed himself in his kingly robes, took out the gold bullet long saved for the occasion, and fired it into his brain.

Toussaint, Dessalines, Christophe, were pure blacks, who listened to the drums, who confided in the *hamache,* who participated in the ceremonies with the blood of goats and cocks and snakes, and perchance of humans. So it was with General Nord Alexes, the giant African octogenarian who brought peace to Haiti in his presidency from 1902 to 1908; and so it was with Guillaume Sam, who brought on American intervention in 1915.

Haiti has had twenty-six presidents since the death of Christophe in 1820, when the north and south of the country were reunited, but eleven of them ruled within five years, between 1911 and 1916. Twelve of the twenty-six were pure Negroes, six were *griffe*—black with a very small percentage of white blood—and eight were mulattoes. All these rulers were made to feel the ancient curse on Ham. Foreigners have never failed during any period of the century and a quarter of Haiti's independence to study how they might exploit that country. A small group of white foreigners in the capital and in Cap Haitien were always gambling on the political situation, lending money to this or that local chief who wanted to start a revolution, and who, if successful, would bring the foreigner large returns.

It is well to remember that claims on Haiti by the United States began when Christophe seized United States vessels after a hundred and twenty-five thousand dollars sent through his agents to buy goods in the United States

had been held there fraudulently. Relations between the two countries were also complicated by the fact that white refugees from the reign of terror in Haiti landed in the United States, causing slave owners here to fear that what had happened in that island would come to the ears of their own slaves and induce revolt.

The United States early declared that it would not recognize Haiti as a country. At the same time it was anxious to develop commercial relations. Little wonder that Haiti was slow to grant commercial favors to a power which showed itself opposed to political relations. The many ensuing difficulties between the two countries is illustrated by the fact that the United States intervened in Haitian affairs either by diplomatic or military pressure, some fifteen times before the present military occupation, which dates from 1915.

A few weeks before this occupation the Fuller Mission was in Haiti, urging a treaty which would give the United States special rights. In fact, Haiti's political ambitions have received practically nothing but discouragement from other nations. The slaves themselves had been too many centuries at the lowest round of the ladder to climb unaided to the level of democracy. Since the beginning of the republic strong native leaders have not been unknown, but the majority of the people, uneducated, controlled by superstition and fears implanted by voodoo, have been untrained to meet responsibilities of statecraft.

After a succession of revolutions in 1915, a further uprising was threatening President General Guillaume Sam. This ruler seized as political prisoners one hundred and

sixty-nine of the leading citizens of Port au Prince and had them murdered in cold blood. When the families of these men and their friends besieged his residence, he took refuge in the French embassy next door. This was stormed, and the executive was seized by the mob, which tore him to pieces. The blacks thus showed themselves capable of repeating in Port au Prince the scenes staged on the plaza of Cap Haitien by the whites a century before—a scene which they frequently heard described as taking place also in public squares in the United States.

In a few hours the United States marines had been landed and outward order restored. Other things besides order were effected, including privileges hitherto sought by the United States for the direction of Haiti's finances and other affairs. A treaty was signed which gave to the United States practically complete control of the government of Haiti, to be followed in 1917 by a new constitution which for the first time in a century allowed the white men the right to own property on the island.

The difficulties met by the American military forces in having their own constitution adopted instead of the one proposed by Haitians is shown in a message from General Eli K. Cole to the Secretary of the Navy, June 17, 1916: "Antagonism National Assembly to foreign ownership of land such that no endeavor short of dissolution will prevent passage of constitution along lines reported in 13107." On June 18 General Cole notified Washington: "Unless contrary instructions received, if necessary to prevent passage proposed constitution I intend dissolving National Assembly." In reply the Navy Department invested General

Cole "with full discretionary power," which he used the next day by having marine officers adjourn the assembly. The constitution "made in the U. S. A." was then put through.

From that day until this the United States marines have remained in Haiti, and officials of the Navy Department have controlled the country. This has meant a complete eclipse of native Negro rule. In the case of this Black Republic race prejudice has had as fundamentally important a bearing as has the question concerning the right of a strong government to impose order and a treaty on a weak one, to assume control of its finances, to adjourn permanently its congress, or to carry on war against those who refuse to accept the new government. But questions concerning intervention have been amply treated in other volumes. The report of the committee of the United States Senate investigating Haitian affairs (1921) gives facts in great detail. What we should like to stress here is that white dominance has taken the place of black rule in Haiti, and that the white man has done his best to destroy pride of race in the Negro, who has been accustomed to think that he was the same kind of human who lived in other parts of the world, not simply a "nigger," as he is now often called.

A Trip Through the Interior

It was three years after the landing of United States marines in 1915 and their assumption of the direction of Haiti that I made my first visit to that land. It was a very doubtful enterprise which a Y.M.C.A. secretary of the Com-

mission on Training Camp Activities and I set out to accomplish in his Ford car. Reports had it that travel in the interior was dangerous if not impossible, both because of the bad roads and of the *cacos,* as the Haitians opposing American rule are called.

A two-hour drive brought us to the Masacre River, which we found was overflowing, owing to a very heavy rain the night before. Our first impression was that it would be impossible for us to cross, but the obliging lieutenant of the Dominican *Guardia Nacional* assured us that the natives could push the car through the stream if we would get out our baggage and stop up our engine to keep the water out. I took the baggage across in a rowboat, and my companion guided the faithful flivver down to the rushing waters, while ten husky Haitians, stripped of the bothersome trappings of civilization, hoisted the car on their shoulders and, slipping and sliding, yelling, cursing and laughing, finally made the opposite shore.

Such a mixture of modern and of "darkest Africa" one could not have imagined. On either side of the straining, struggling men, women with great baskets of fruit and all kinds of trinkets securely balanced on their heads, their slips of dresses rolled up around their shoulders, were slipping and sliding through the swift stream in order to get their products to market or their purchases back home. Often they led a horse with a youngster or two clinging to its back, and another person swinging on to its tail with a little more surety of not slipping.

These peasant women dominate the country roads. They sit on the donkeys, their long shining bare legs swinging

contentedly as they smoke their pipes, and watch their precious load of market stuff. They throw jibes and homespun philosophy back and forth to the long line of fellow marketers while dexterously guiding their beasts on the edge of a deep abyss, or on the approach of an unfriendly automobile hastily dismount, and with Amazonian strength push the balking donkey off the road to safety.

A woman will often walk with her load twenty, twenty-five, thirty miles to market. If you should try to buy her products before she has reached town she would probably refuse, for about all the joy she gets in life is going to market. There she will sit all day, usually in the hot tropical sun, gossiping with her neighbors and bargaining with the customers.

In the more remote country districts the people seem to have no conception of what we regard as civilization. For example, the women's ideas of modesty differ considerably from ours. Men, women and children live in little shacks and sleep huddled together, as they do also on the side of the road when night overtakes them.

Cap Haitien, principal port on the north and second in size only to the capital, Port au Prince, is greatly preferable to the latter as a place to study Haiti's history, for here its most striking events have taken place. On Christmas day of 1492 Columbus entered this beautiful bay. More than two centuries later the Cap became a center of luxury and wealth, the first French town of importance on the island after the French buccaneers from Tortuga, across the bay, had overflowed to the mainland. It was in the plaza, as we have seen, that the French broke

on the rack or burned at the stake such offenders as Mackendal and Ogé. Christophe burned the city and withdrew to the hills, where he erected his palace and fort, worthy to be called the eighth wonder of the world. The ruins of both may be visited in a day's trip from the Cap.

The road from Cap Haitien to Port au Prince leads first of all across the Limbe River, across which a bunch of prisoners carried our car, much as the other giants had done at the Masacre, and all for the cost of a cigarette for each booster. In about an hour we had climbed three thousand feet to the little town of Plaisance. It was indeed a pleasant place, with the coolest of breezes and the most picturesque of mountain huts, but I could sympathize with the four Americans who had been stationed there. The latest newspaper they had seen was four months old. "And look at these people—just look at these people we have to live with," said one, as he told us with what enthusiasm he had enlisted to fight in France, only to be sent to this God-forsaken place. From here on through to Port au Prince we were to listen almost continuously to marines who told us stories of the fights being waged by them and the *gendarmerie* for the extermination of the *cacos*. It was evident that we were in a country where real war was going on.

Sitting in a homemade barber chair in a marine camp in the interior, I watched one of our enlisted men who had probably been inveigled into joining the "Devil Dogs" by the wonderful colored pictures displayed on the post-office bulletin board of his home town: "See the world with

the marines." He was directing some black prisoners in the work of cleaning the camp, and seemed to me to be a bit too handy with his bayonet. So I inquired, "What have you got it in for these poor Negroes for?" "You see," he answered as he jabbed another slow-moving black, "if it wasn't for these fellows"—jab—"I could have been over in France in a real war. Instead I've got to stay down here in this rotten hole"—jab—"and teach 'em"—jab—"how to run their country"—jab!

The marine who in those days became an officer of the *gendarmerie* found himself clothed with almost unlimited power in his district, being the judge of practically all civil and criminal cases, from a family fight to a murder. He was the paymaster of all funds expended by the national government. As collector of taxes he exercised a strong influence on all individuals. It is no wonder that an ordinary private in the Marine Corps, with a few months' residence in a foreign country where the people are at a very low stage of civilization and he himself has had little or no preparation for such responsibilities, was chargeable with many abuses and mistakes. When one sees the awful conditions under which these men were called to live, one wonders if one would do any better under the same circumstances. But the fact remains that it is impossible to go forward with "improving conditions" among a people who see nothing to admire in the improver. One's heart went out to our enlisted men, most of them unaware of the nature of the business they had been caught in, who saw no end to it until all the *cacos* had been "cleaned up." The machine, more than the man, seemed

to blame for the repulsive acts we constantly witnessed.

At Saint Marc on the bay we were taken out in the suburbs to see a Saturday night dance—not a voodoo performance, but one carried on for enjoyment, just as white people carry on their dances at parties and night clubs. This Negro dance is not the suggestive modern motion practiced by "civilized people," where the bodies are entwined. It is primitively direct. A man usually begins to dance alone, at the beat of the tom-toms. Then comes a woman into the hollow square, dancing around the man and singing, along with the rest of the crowd, which one at a time now enters the fun. Men and women dance up to each other and recede again, time after time. Body and song alike exhibit brazen proposals and acceptances by both sexes, with the abandonment characteristic of animals.

This dance was not as bad, however, as a performance in the nude which had been staged by one of our fellow-countrymen who brought us on the scene without warning after we had called to inquire the road. Quitting a scene of unbelievable obscenity, we went down on the seashore in the moonlight to see if that glorious beauty could take the taste out of our mouths. Never did the words of that discredited old hymn seem so appropriate, "Where every prospect pleases and only man is vile."

Port au Prince, whence we retraced our route to Santo Domingo, we found much run down at the heel—it has been greatly improved in the twelve years since that visit. We found the strongest contrasts between the old and the new. On the well-paved streets a high-powered

car would blow its horn to scatter a group of half-naked black men who, as unconcernedly as though they were out in the Congo, were trotting down the middle of the street with huge bags of coffee balanced on their heads, all chanting in perfect rhythm a native African air to the accompaniment of the clang of a kind of triangle beaten with a railroad spike. Crowds of barefoot women were at work on a great pile of coffee, assorting by hand the various qualities, while their sisters swarmed back and forth, apparently quarreling with their neighbors as they distributed, with the strength of Amazons, the big bags to their proper places.

The high-powered car came from the upper part of the city, where live the cultured Haitians. If one is fortunate enough to have entrée to the attractive homes and charming gardens of that section, one will find life very similar to that encountered in the neighborhood of the Bois de Boulogne. The receptions given by the élite at their far-famed Club Bellevue have been reported in ecstatic phrases by many white visitors who have been overwhelmed with the elegance, grace and charm of its members, both men and women.

When you go through Haitian country, you know you have come on a journey to a far-away land. It is African, very. But in the cities it is an Africa that has been, as Blair Niles in *Black Haiti* says, awakened and aflamed with the champagne of France. The passion for patriotism and the passion for sex are very near the surface. The Haitian's character is like his language, neither French nor African but a combination of the two.

At every turn in Haiti one meets the question of voodoo. This form of worship is variously described, and no doubt is of infinite variety. The basic idea is the sacrifice of some animal, a snake, a cock, a goat, rarely a human sacrifice, the "goat without horns," in order to propitiate evil spirits and to derive strength. For this purpose the blood of the creature sacrificed is drunk by the participants. At times the heart, the brains, or the testicles are eaten with the purpose of securing power. It is impossible to find out to just what extent voodoo worship still exists. Since the Americans entered Haiti they have done all in their power to prohibit it.

The *lois* are spirits and mystery powers. Many of these spirits are now confused with Catholic saints, and the days held sacred to them coincide with Catholic saint days. Magic to the Anglo-Saxon suggests a sleight-of-hand performer, but to the African of the jungle it suggests power over life and death, and few white men who have lived in the jungle, where death lurks in the vines, the trees, the herbs, the water and the air, will entirely ignore magic. A missionary of long residence in Haiti has told me innumerable stories of magic, some only humorous, others tragic with death, which all his investigation and theories were unable to explain. Magic is believed to be exercised by potions, medicines, or prayers; for good when it wards off pestilence and disease, for evil when the *ouanga,* the mixture of herbs and skins, is consecrated to work evil on an enemy. If the one on whom the curse is invoked should learn of it, he will of course set counter spirits to work.

Haiti's religion, nominally Catholic, is greatly mixed with African animism. Many of the intellectuals have broken with the church and are openly atheistic and agnostic. The priests are usually Frenchmen who have been educated at a seminary in France which is sustained by the Haitian government. I heard no stories of moral abuses such as are common regarding the priests in Santo Domingo and other West Indian lands. My visit to the Saint Louis School, conducted by the brothers, made me feel that those men were doing a real piece of service, giving their lives in an unselfish way and living under conditions so repulsive to men of sentiment and culture that only a deeply religious motive could explain it. When asked about the bringing of native Haitians into their order, they explained that they had tried it, but the Haitians had never proved their ability to maintain the standards of morality required. Practically the only uplifting moral and spiritual influences of the community are the masses held in the Catholic churches, and the preaching services held in the Protestant churches. The glitter of tinsel and adoration of saints, and the Protestant congregational singing appeal alike to the people. The churches are well filled, but often religion and morality appear to have slight relationship.

Protestantism has done comparatively little for Haiti. The Negroes of the United States have made a few spasmodic efforts to help. A Negro clergyman of the Episcopal church, James T. Holly, left New Haven, Connecticut, in 1861 with a considerable colony of colored people and established a church in Haiti. His work was successful,

and a good following was built up among the people. He became the first bishop in 1874, which office he occupied until his death in 1911. His own activities were largely in the city of Port au Prince, where a church and primary school are still maintained. The work has been extended to several other sections of the republic.

Pastor L'Herisson is a Haitian who has built a number of Baptist churches in the district of Jacmel. He was an artist employed to paint for the Roman Catholic cathedral a picture portraying Jesus at the well with the woman of Samaria. In order to put the proper light in the picture, the artist asked a friend what time of day it was that Jesus had sat there talking with the woman. The friend, a Protestant, said, "I'll give you a Bible and you can read the story for yourself." This Haitian, who had never seen a Bible, took it and read the story. Then he read other portions of the book, including the ten commandments. He accepted the Christian religion and after a few years became a minister. He has established between twenty and thirty preaching stations, and has charge of a dozen schools connected with his churches, with a membership of some twelve hundred members, and a constituency of about five thousand.

The English Wesleyans have built in Port au Prince Bird College, which has educated many of the citizens. A number of prominent professional men are members of this church. But these instances are rare. In the United States Protestant churches lead in furnishing not only spiritual but intellectual and social life for Negroes. In Haiti nothing of this kind has happened. Neither the

Negroes nor the whites of the United States have a creditable record in assisting Haiti. The progress of the Negroes since slavery in the United States has been astounding, but would it have been so if no one had lifted a hand to help them get a start, and if they had been isolated from observing the practices of civilization?

The United States Occupation

General John H. Russell, American High Commissioner in Haiti, says in his report of 1928 that "during the past seven years there has been more progress than during the preceding hundred years." With this statement one who last visited Haiti in the spring of 1929 might largely agree if progress is measured only by the things which well trained and increasingly well disposed foreign soldiers, financial advisers, public health and agricultural experts can do for a people. But with the best disposition in the world to credit the American officials with efforts to improve conditions, one feels that the whole fundamental principle of pedagogy is being missed by this well intentioned group, directed by a military officer who naturally looks at all problems from a military standpoint, and fostering a program seemingly based on the idea that the Negro is inferior and must remain subordinate to the white. This is illustrated by two experiences of mine in my last trip to Haiti in 1929.

"I am sorry to be late," apologized an American official in Port au Prince who was taking us out to his home for dinner, "but we had some trouble in the office and I had to stay and bawl out the whole outfit." When I inquired

what the difficulty was he replied, "Oh, nothing, except that they are Haitians—just Haitians, that's all." He had to spend a lot of his time calling down Haitians, explained this American, himself probably not over twenty-five years old. Among those to whom he had that day shown their error was a former president of the republic. The young official was very much in earnest; he had resigned a job with higher salary, he said, because he felt a call to come to Haiti to uplift these people; he seemed determined to do it, though it might have to be by the nape of the neck. If that young man's eyes happen to light on this page, I hope he will not think that I am ungrateful for a very fine dinner and a most enjoyable evening in his family circle. But I hope also that it may serve to help him to abandon that all too prevalent American cocksureness and patronizing attitude that loses us more friends in Haiti and around the world than any other trait we display.

Another call was on a Haitian gentleman who had represented his country in France, in the United States and other countries, and had served his government in many capacities at home. He was a cultured, sensitive person who was embarrassed in receiving us in his bare rooms on the second floor of a business building. Poverty had forced him to move from better quarters. He was one of the few Haitians who had signed the petition for the American occupation. This act had cost him much in popularity, but he had believed the United States could help his country in its great need. The American military program, however, had at first seemed stupid to him, then inexcusable. When he began to criticize it he was sent

to jail. He had suffered financial loss because the occupation insisted on sending government printing to the United States instead of allowing native printers to do it. His family had been separated because of his poverty, and his whole life had been changed from that of the well-cared-for professional man to that of a man struggling against poverty. Saddest of all was the tragedy of his soul. Disappointed at first with the continued military dominance of the intervention, he had settled down to disillusionment; all that remained to him was a dogged fight for bread, and for the elimination of the foreigner from the land.

When we begin to study the Haitian people, it appears plainly ridiculous for us to measure their progress by how quickly they can be brought into imitation of our Anglo-Saxon political practices and our modern industrial machinery. In the process we may easily take away the admittedly finest characteristic of the Haitian, contentedness. We may do this by shifting the squatter or owner of an acre or two of land where he now makes a living, to a great estate, subject to a landlord and the whims of a rising and falling foreign market; by preparing more applicants for the few white collar jobs; by introducing more automobiles and foreign finery in a way to make the native dissatisfied and begin the tortuous life of installment buying. Increased income by the introduction of big estates and factories may mean many things besides increased happiness, unless along with such increase should go a process of education which will enlarge the desire and capacity for better social, moral and spiritual living.

The question of education was entirely left out in the

list of things which the United States was given the right to foster by the treaty of 1915. Recently treaty officials have got around this point and several commendable agricultural schools have been opened. Since, however, these are entirely apart from the national school system, they have introduced an element of discord which further separates the former governing classes from the American occupation forces. Failure to capture the sympathetic cooperation of the intelligent Haitians, failure to develop a group of efficient Haitian administrators, failure to lift appreciably the percentage of illiteracy, may mean, unless processes are quickly speeded up for accomplishing these, that in 1936, when, according to treaty, the United States occupation expires, Haiti will be about where it was in 1915 when the occupation began, except for numerous new public works and improved public health.

Without waiting for the withdrawal of the occupation, it is to be hoped that measures will be inaugurated to bring more local autonomy. Certainly Haiti has always had her distinguished literary men, international lawyers, and devoted political leaders. This small cultured class has much real talent and character. Their morals and culture, being Latin rather than Anglo-Saxon, are easily underestimated by a provincial Nordic. Family life among them is often most beautiful. Relations between the rich landowner and the peasant are often found to contain praiseworthy conditions not visible on the surface. We have heard much condemnation of Haitian politicians; no doubt they deserve it as much as do politicians in other countries. But it must be remembered that the intellectuals

among the population are the only ones who have any experience in governing, and the only ones to whom the foreigner can look in the beginning for intelligent co-operation in a program of improvement. A disrespect for Haitian schools, for example, has led American officials to set up agricultural schools entirely separate from the Haitian educational system, and to deny the latter any but the most meager financial support. This has caused Haitian educators to oppose the American-directed agricultural schools, and strikes of students and many other undesirable conditions have been the result.

In attempting to develop the country, what can be gained by ignoring the only members of the population who have the educational equipment for directing their people? As long as the United States is in Haiti, the least we can do is to magnify the cultured Haitians by permitting them a truer leadership. We will scarcely help permanently by doing the job ourselves—no matter how well we could do it. It is only as they learn by doing that the fundamental character of a people is modified and new social motives are gradually substituted for old.

Negro Unity

The problem of Haiti cannot be considered apart from the world problem of the Negro. The Negro is developing a world consciousness. The Pan African movement, the West African and South African conferences, the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People in America, the Union Patriotique d'Haiti, the Garvey movement in Jamaica, and the movement for a federation

of the British West Indies Negroes, are among the most important signs. There are two million Negroes in British West Indies, eighteen million in French Africa, eleven million in the United States, three million in Haiti, nine million in Belgian Congo, the same number in Portuguese East Africa, and a dozen other groups of from two to five millions each. A total of about a hundred and fifty million people are thus involved.

The awakening of the Negro has been particularly noticeable since the World War. Political self-consciousness has been only part of it. In the arts—in song and instrumental music, in painting and sculpture, in prose writing and poetry, in dancing and in the drama—the Negro has found himself and his people in possession of the power to create.

In the process of developing a new respect for himself, the Negro of Haiti has been greatly aided by the recent friendship shown him by the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People in the United States. This association, inaugurated a decade ago at Atlanta, Georgia, has adopted an aggressive program of protest against racial abuses, rather than being contented with the slower educational processes advocated by Booker T. Washington. The organization is determined at whatever cost to eliminate conditions like that which caused a black man, after witnessing a lynching, to cry out to God, "Bewildered we are and passion-tossed, mad with the madness of a mobbed and mocked and murdered people. . . . Sit no longer deaf to our prayers and dumb to our dumb suffering! Surely thou, too, art not white, O Lord!" This

same wretchedness and bewilderment aroused the Haitian Negroes to the greatest race retaliation that history ever knew. It is arousing Negroes in Haiti, in the United States, and in Africa to a world protest against their injustices.

In Haiti the division between mulatto and black is a marked one. Most of the political leaders have been black, but the two presidents selected by the white occupation, Dartignave and Borno, are mulattoes, with Parisian culture, types of the Latin American rather than the African. When Haiti is free again, she will face the important question as to whether she should follow the best of the mulatto intelligentsia into an imitation of the modern white civilization, or whether she should, while using some of the white man's modern tools, turn again to a frank and open program of building the nation on the best traditions of the Negro.

Probably a bigger question still is whether the white man can eliminate some of his racial superiority complex and lend his help to Haiti in building its Negro republic. The Negro's struggle to maintain his own ideals may find an ally in the growing questioning among many whites themselves, following the orgies of the World War, as to how far white civilization has perfected itself. Despite the greatest achievements of our progress, as in public health, students like Albert E. Wiggam declare, "Civilized nations of the world are biologically plunging downward." Dr. Haven Emerson warns us that patients suffering from mental and nervous diseases in United States hospitals today outnumber those afflicted with all other forms of disease. "We are creating," says Dr. Emerson,

"conditions as unbearable for human beings in peace as the conditions which existed in front-line trenches during the World War. Much of the wreckage of mind and nerve today is due to fear, which is induced in no small degree by unemployment, by depression, by the sudden realization of people capable of working for their living that there is no place for them in this vaunted modern civilization."

Señor de Madariaga, Spanish professor at Oxford, remarks: "So we go to Africa and open it up and out, bringing our civilization into the benighted continent—fools, hypocrites, or both. For, in actual fact, what we do bring is our own incurable restlessness. Turning round and round . . . driving out quietness and leisure to the far-off interstellar spaces where God lurks, hidden from eyes too blind to see that which does not move."

If there is any doubt of the truth of such a statement about Africa, there is less doubt in the case of Haiti. In the life of no other country in the world has race prejudice played such a large part and science such a small part. From the time of the landing of the first slave ship down to the landing of the last warship, passions rather than educational processes have dominated. The time has come for a new era, inaugurated by careful and sympathetic study.

It is strange that neither the United States government, in carrying out its difficult self-imposed task of reforming all departments of Haiti's life, nor the Christian forces, in developing their work, nor the great foundations that have made helpful surveys for other countries much further away. have ever made a comprehensive study of Haiti.

Many philanthropic organizations are now financing extensive studies, such as the one concerning what is supposed to be an unmodified Negro culture in the isolated Sea Island of the South Carolina coast. Would it not be at least as important to make a study of the Negro culture that has been developed in Haiti? It is possible that Haiti's failure to develop the moral qualities which make for true civilization is due not to any fault of the Negro race, but rather to the neglect of those who assume dictation in the realm of politics and economics, yet feel no responsibility to share with the Haitian people the dynamic of Christianity.

Note.—Since the manuscript of this book was completed, President Hoover has appointed a commission to study Haitian conditions. The commission reported on March 28, 1930, recommending an increased "Haitianization" of government service, the gradual withdrawal of the marines, with termination of present treaty obligations in 1936, and the substitution of the present High Commissioner by a non-military Minister. While commending the treaty officials for conscientious service, the commission says: "The failure of the occupation to understand the social problems of Haiti, its brusque attempt to plant democracy there by drill and harrow, its determination to set up a middle class—however wise and necessary it may seem to Americans—all these explain why, in part, the high hopes of our good works in this land have not been realized." President Hoover has also requested a commission headed by President Robert R. Moton of Tuskegee Institute to study the educational needs of Haiti. This report will no doubt point out many ways of lending real service to Haiti as she faces the life which will begin with her new period of sovereignty.

VI

ROMANCE TURNED TO ROADS

Civilization in its march is a little like the airplane in its flight; it hits air pockets. One of the most notable of these I found recently in a visit to old Bagdad. That city was so famous for its learning and progress in the ninth century that the stories of the Arabian Nights regarding it seemed hardly an exaggeration. But Bagdad hit an air pocket and dropped down off the level of civilization for a thousand years. It is only just now putting on modernity and preparing itself to become once more the meeting place of Orient and Occident.

So with Santo Domingo. We have seen how Columbus and his successors made this island the first American center of civilization. The new culture was extended over to the mainland, up through Mexico to the mountains of California, and down through Peru to the plains of Argentina. But that civilization, too, hit an air pocket, and it is only today that it is rebounding, and at a remarkable rate.

For Santo Domingo is naturally one of the richest spots on the earth. When Columbus first saw the beautiful land which he christened Española and which now contains the two republics of Santo Domingo and Haiti, he wrote his royal patrons: "Its mountains and plains . . . are so rich and beautiful for planting . . . and for building

towns and villages. . . . The size and wholesomeness of the rivers surpass anything that would be believed by one who had not seen them."

President Grant, in urging on the Senate the annexation of the country, made a very clear statement when he said: "The acquisition of Santo Domingo is desirable because of its geographical position. It commands the entrance to the Caribbean Sea and the Isthmus transit of commerce. It possesses the richest soil, the most capacious harbors, the most salubrious climate, and the most valuable products of the forests, mines and soil of all the West Indies Islands. Its possession by us will in a few years build up a coastwise commerce of immense magnitude, which will go far toward restoring to us our lost merchant marine. It will give to us these articles which we consume so largely and do not produce, thus equalizing our imports and exports. In case of foreign war it will give us command of all the islands referred to and thus prevent an enemy of ever possessing himself of a rendezvous on our very coast."

Rear Admiral Chadwick said recently that Santo Domingo, with its 19,333 square miles, is capable of sustaining a denser population than any other similar area in the world. It has been estimated that the island produces at least seventy-five varieties of grain and vegetables, fifty species of fruits, twelve species of palms, fifty species of industrial plants, and fifteen different types of pasture. Sugar is of course the leading product. Corn yields from three to four crops a year. Bananas, plantains, oranges and pineapples are exported. Copper is found in commercial quantities; deposits of iron are known to exist, coal and

petroleum are found in considerable amount, salt, alum, gypsum, platinum, mercury and other minerals are exploited to some extent. Thanks to the inaccessibility of the great forests, much of the wealth of rare hardwoods and dyewoods has been conserved. Mahogany, ebony, lignum-vitæ, satinwood, rosewood, walnut and other precious woods are abundant.

The coast line of Santo Domingo, unlike that of Porto Rico, is well indented with harbors and bays. Samana Bay is a veritable inland sea, measuring about forty miles from east to west and fourteen from north to south, with room to haven all the navies of the world.

Influences Retarding the Dominican Republic

Why has such a remarkably rich country failed to advance with the more progressive portions of the Western world? History reveals several reasons, the clearest of which is undoubtedly isolation. When the Spaniards, after making this island the center of their early operations in America, plucked all its removable riches, they pushed on to the mainland. Thereafter for two centuries most vessels even ceased to make the island a regular port of call. When enlarged sugar production began to restore its prosperity, and the smugglers began to violate the regulations that trade could be carried on only with Spain, that government actually closed the ports on the northern shore and compelled the people to move to the interior. In the early nineteenth century the invasion of Negro despots from Haiti, with the consequent fleeing of the best of the white elements, once again set the country back. The struggle

against Haitian interference continued during most of the nineteenth century, and the assurance of independence from that republic came to Santo Domingo only with the assassination of Heureaux, the Negro dictator who ruled it from 1881 to 1889.

During this period of struggle, Santo Domingo politicians twice proposed that the island seek refuge under a foreign flag. This scheme was actually carried out in 1861, when the island returned to the fold of Spain for a period of four years. After the United States had helped to eliminate Spain, the administrations of President Grant and President Báez flirted with each other, and annexation to the United States would almost certainly have been accomplished if Senator Sumner with his speech on Naboth's Vineyard, and other enemies of Grant and of expansion, had not defeated the proposal.

President Báez, negotiator in this matter of annexation, succeeded in accomplishing what had been the dream of every administration of the republic—the contracting of a foreign loan. The firm of London bankers, Hartmont and Company, who agreed to float an issue of Dominican bonds, so mercilessly fleeced the government, however, that the nucleus of the enormous debt which finally led to American intervention was established. The government received only about 38,095 pounds out of a loan issued in London for 757,700 pounds. Many of the bonds were sold in London after the Dominican government in 1870 had cancelled the agreement. Most of the bonds were exchanged for the next loan, secured in 1888 from the Dutch firm of Westendorf. The rest were purchased at twenty-

eight cents on the dollar by an American firm, the San Domingo Investment Company, which took over the Westendorf interests and began in 1893 to dominate Dominican finance.

Under pressure from foreign governments, the principal debt items due foreign citizens had been recognized by the Dominicans, who had actually gone so far as to pledge the income from each of the more important customs houses for the payment of this or that creditor. The agreement was seldom kept, since the Dominican, believing always that he was being exploited, felt lightly bound by such "obligations."

A new power was about to enter the life of the island. Just as Santo Domingo was the first, in that vast new world later known as Latin America, to receive the impulse of the adventurous Spanish civilization, so it was now to be the first of the Latin American countries to receive officially the newer North American civilization. In 1905 President Roosevelt announced a new interpretation of the Monroe Doctrine which declared the United States responsible for the moral life of its nearest neighbors, an interpretation applied by the Department of State in its dealing with Latin America.

The new policy as announced in the President's message to Congress was this:

"Any country whose people conduct themselves well can count on our hearty friendship. Chronic wrongdoing may in America, as elsewhere, ultimately require intervention by some civilized nation, and in the Western hemisphere the adhesion of the United States to the Mon-

roe Doctrine may force the United States, however reluctant, to the exercise of an international police power."

Following this announcement, the President pressed for an arrangement whereby the United States should administer the finances of Santo Domingo, then struggling with many creditors in Europe and America. The Dominican government finally agreed that a collector of customs should be appointed from and by the United States. Thus was initiated the process, since carried out in a number of the Caribbean countries, of refunding the national debt. This means that the United States officials facilitate the making of a loan by New York bankers sufficient to pay off European creditors and to initiate certain internal improvements, thus concentrating all the financial responsibilities of the country concerned in the United States.

The process by which such loans originate has been described by the Baltimore *Sun* as a formula operating thus: "(1) Somebody wants to be President who isn't. (2) The State Department is alarmed by the situation. (3) The State Department forwards a note remarking 'Naughty, naughty!' (4) Diplomatic relations are severed. (5) We land marines. (6) Somebody becomes President. (7) We resume diplomatic relations. (8) We make a loan."

The financial arrangement in the case of Santo Domingo provided that the United States collector of customs was to pay forty-five per cent of the customs receipts to the Dominican government, and fifty-five per cent for interest, expenses, and a sinking fund which would repay the loan in a given number of years.

In those days the people's representatives in Congress

did not seem to favor even a budding imperialism, any more than they had done in the days of Grant. The Senate refused to approve the treaty authorizing the United States to appoint the collector of Dominican customs. This, however, was no inhibition on the vigorously benevolent Roosevelt. He was used to getting around the Senate in the matter of this new Caribbean program, as is shown by his address at the University of California, March 23, 1911, when he said, "I am interested in the Panama Canal because I started it. If I had followed traditional conservative methods I should have submitted a dignified state paper of probably two hundred pages to Congress, and the debate on it would be going on yet; but I took the Canal Zone and let Congress debate, and while the debate goes on the canal does too."

Accordingly, when the Senate refused its approval, the President simply appointed a collector on his own authority. Two years later, realizing the futility of kicking against the pricks, the Senate legalized the situation by approving the treaty. From that time to the present, the President and his Secretaries of State and Navy have largely handled Caribbean questions without reference to Congress, let alone to the people themselves.

Collection of Dominican customs by a foreign power continued, with various ups and downs, for a decade. But during the turbulent times of the World War such control did not seem to be sufficient. Naval strategists urged a military control as well. By intervention in Haiti in 1915 the United States had secured control of the passage to the Panama Canal between Cuba and Haiti. The passage be-

tween Porto Rico and the Virgin Islands was being acquired by purchase from Denmark. But the remaining passage between Porto Rico and Santo Domingo was still lacking. Disturbed political conditions in Santo Domingo gave the needed opportunity. The State Department demanded that Santo Domingo sign a treaty which accorded the United States much the same dominance that Haiti had accorded it a year before.

"Can we not have an agreement that will not imply the complete obliteration of Dominican sovereignty?" pleaded Señor Perdomo, the Dominican Minister at Washington. But it was in vain. "Our international relations were now approaching a critical stage. It was highly desirable to have peaceable conditions close to our own boundaries," urged naval officials, as they later explained to the Senate commission inquiring into the intervention.

"No time should be lost in declaring military control," urged Secretary Lansing in a note to President Wilson. What would the idealist in the President's chair do, beset on every hand with problems of the gravest moment? Self-interest and otherism, the two great impulses of human nature, always struggling against each other. At a different time the latter might have won. But now, with the world on fire? Even as he reflected, the Cabinet secretaries were pounding at his door with more world problems.

The great idealist seized his pen and hastily wrote to his Secretary of State: "It is with the deepest reluctance that I approve and authorize the course you have proposed, but I am convinced that it is the least of the evils in sight in this very perplexing situation."

A fateful day was November 26, 1916. Not since Roosevelt's "I took the Canal Zone" was Latin America so stirred with protest as it was over the military occupation which was immediately set up by Rear Admiral Knapp. From the day when the proclamation of military governorship was issued, through eight years the Dominican government, without president, congress or constitution of its own, was ruled by military decrees issued by an admiral of the United States Navy.

Seeing the Country

It was this critical political situation, the interest of which was intensified tenfold by the dramatic history and marvelous natural resources and beauty of the island itself, that I found myself observing on my first visit to Santo Domingo in 1919. From New York I had gone to Porto Rico, whence through the courtesy of the captain of the United States Navy Yacht *Kwashing* I was enabled to go directly to Santo Domingo City on the southern shore. Fortunately the *Kwashing* stopped several hours at La Romana and at San Pedro de Macoris, centers of American sugar interests, giving me a brief opportunity to see both places.

La Romana is the most modern community in Santo Domingo. There is a great *central* here, and the town, with its factory, warehouses, offices and trim bungalows, looks like a little bit of the United States set down in the tropics. San Pedro de Macoris, forty-five miles east, is another of the more modern towns. Only a fishing village in 1885, it is now one of the chief seaports, and this great

development has likewise been due to the growth of the sugar industry.

If the modern industrial invasion is seen in La Romana and Macoris, the evidences of the early Spanish invasion are met at every turn in the capital, Santo Domingo City. We have already described the wonderful old cathedral in testifying to the hospitality of the archbishop. Even before that edifice was erected, other notable buildings were begun. It is no wonder that Charles V was told that the palaces of the governor general and of the archbishop of Santo Domingo were much more magnificent than were the king's own impressive palaces in Europe.

As our boat turned northward from the sea into the Ozama River, I glimpsed the first of these great monuments of Spanish industry and organization, the Torre del Homenaje, or Homage Tower, one of the oldest and most interesting monuments of the city, the first structure erected after the city was transferred in 1503 from the east to the west bank of the Ozama.

Every foot of ground in the capital and in its environs is historic; there is the Ceiba de Colón, the tree to which, according to tradition, Admiral Cristóbal Colón tied his ships; the Columbus Fountain on the bank of the river; the Sun Clock, built in 1753; the gate of the old wall known as the Twenty-seventh of February, because there on that day in 1844 the memorable cry of independence was shouted.

As early as 1536 was founded the University of Santo Tomás de Aquino, holding its sessions in the convent of the Dominican friars, a building constructed in 1520. This

university caused the city to be named the Athens of the New World. It attracted young men from Mexico, Central America, Panama, Venezuela, Cuba and other colonies, especially as it offered post-graduate courses to those who had received training in other schools.

While wandering around this Cuidad Romántica, as the Dominicans like to call their city, I ran into a twentieth century "Y" secretary, working with the United States Navy to supply reading matter, films, victrolas and games to marines, then scattered over the island to the number of about twenty-five hundred. The story of his work of taking cheer to these homesick Americans, many of them stationed far out in the country districts, entirely removed from any indication of civilization or contact with the outside world, was an absorbing one. But what interested me for the moment was that this man had somewhere over on the northern part of the island a brother who, with a new Ford, was constantly visiting the camps both in Santo Domingo and Haiti to distribute this same cheer. He was probably around Puerto Plata or Santiago now, his brother said, and if I were able to reach him in time, I might make the next trip with him into the remote interior districts. But the next boat around the island to the north was two weeks away, and everybody advised against risking a trip across the island on horseback.

About that time a United States supply ship, the *Kittery,* unexpectedly put into harbor for a few hours. A flying trip to Military Governor Admiral Snowden, with an impassioned appeal, brought me permission to sail on this transport, and in two days I was in the northern port, about

four weeks ahead of my proposed schedule. It is admitted that one may be against the disagreeable things that accompany a military occupation and still appreciate a hospitable ride on a really seaworthy vessel.

My first job in Puerto Plata was to search among the marines for the young man with the Ford. It was soon evident that he was not in Puerto Plata, so I set out to see the city, founded by Christopher Columbus himself, and the most important northern port. It is located at the foot of Isabel de Torres mountain, and from it a tiny, narrow-gauge railroad runs up over the mountains forty-one miles to Santiago and thence to Moca. This is one of the steepest railroads in existence, the grade being at some points as much as eleven per cent. The obliging North American agent gave me a complimentary passage on the only train out that day, a freight, in company with a marine mail carrier, who enlivened the trip from half past six in the morning to one o'clock noon with stories of the glories of the marines and the "rottenness of this here —— country."

On arrival at Santiago my military friend and I stopped to patronize a newly opened ice-cream stand which was crowded with service men. On inquiring of one of the group about the much sought secretary, I was told that he was just halting his Ford out front. What luck! Over another round of refreshments we two outlined a trip which actually took us all over northern Santo Domingo and through the even more disturbed Haiti, one of the most exciting and interesting trips of my lifetime of travel in foreign lands.

Here in Santiago I had reached the second city of the Dominican Republic. Clean, attractive and compactly built, founded in 1500, the place has little of historic interest, earthquakes in 1564 having destroyed practically all traces of the early civilization. The people, who number about twenty-five thousand, have an air of business about them, at least in comparison with the inhabitants of other towns. There were two good clubs for the more privileged, but there were no athletic grounds of any kind and no organized sports, a need which is likewise apparent in other Dominican towns.

Near Santiago lies the most famous and the richest of all Dominican valleys, christened by Columbus La Vega Real, the Royal Plain. The finest view is had from the summit of El Santo Cerro, the Holy Hill on top of which Columbus erected a cross which was miraculously sustained when the Indians attacked him at this point and were repulsed when they saw the Holy Virgin holding up the cross. We climbed the steep ascent in our Ford—modern desecration of an ancient shrine—and looked out over an impressive stretch of rich tropical landscape: deep green foliage relieved by brown fields of cultivated cocoa, coffee, and tobacco, and by the silver threads of several rivers winding toward the sea, fifty miles away. Moca, La Vega and even San Francisco de Macoris are easily discerned, and far to the north are the lofty mountains of Monte Cristi, one peak of which rises nearly ten thousand feet.

Some of the newspaper men with whom I talked praised the American occupation for what it was doing in stabilizing business and developing schools. They may have been

talking partly for publication, but there is no question that the business men of the island appreciate being able to order goods in safety and to count on peaceful conditions for business which they had seldom known before.

The country was at this time, of course, under martial law, the United States admiral governing by means of military decrees carried out by the marines. Censorship was so strict that the old Teatro Independencia had been forced to change its name because that word *independencia* was taboo! Feeling was intense, with the American forces of occupation determined to "put it over," and the Dominicans, except the commercial class, surly and resentful. Martial law involves regulation of every detail of life, with consequent rebelliousness against it, especially as administered by a foreign people who do not know or do not regard the psychology, history, or legal traditions of the governed, and who work through hired interpreters who often blunder and sometimes wilfully introduce discord. It was a case of governors and governed living apart on a basis of separate interests, with no social intercourse, not only because little sympathy exists between them, but because ninety-nine per cent of each group is unable to speak the other's language, an influence which in itself keeps people apart.

One was continually meeting choice examples of Dominicans and Americans who knew nothing of one another. There was Garcia Godoy, whom every reader of Spanish literature knows. I wanted to meet him, but American officials seemed never to have heard of him. When I finally hunted him out in his humble home in La Vega, his indifference to my visit was very evident. What was

my position in the United States government? Considerable time was necessary to convince him that I was not connected with the government at all. Then what was I selling? Still more time was needed to prove that I was not selling anything either. But I must be either a government agent or a commercial agent, because North Americans never came to Santo Domingo except on one of these missions. When I finally got him to realize that I was simply an admirer of his who had come to pay tribute to his genius as a writer he seemed overwhelmed. Was it possible that a visitor from the United States had read *La Literatura Americana de Nuestros Dias?* That was passport indeed, and we slipped off into one of those hours of discussion of literature which he made so enchanting that his listener will always count it one of the high points of experience. What a mind, what a knowledge of the world's literature and of the world's life! And yet this venerable scholar whose literary fame was the pride of all Latin America and Spain was eking out a miserable isolated existence, ignored by the foreigner who was ruling his land.

To me it was personal sorrow when, a few months thereafter, Garcia Godoy sickened and died. When I was again in Santo Domingo in 1929 I thought how I should have liked to go back to that little cottage in the midst of the royal palms and bougainvillæa and take the little old man motoring over the fine new macadam road and through that gorgeous country down to Santo Domingo City. I should have liked to usher him up on the veranda of a beautiful home and into the presence of a group of Dominican men of letters, gathered in the hospitable salon

of the American Minister. What a change in those ten years! Gone are the marines. Gone is the old look of resentment and despair on the faces of the people. The old Teatro Independencia has its no longer prohibited name spelled out now in electric bulbs. And the American Minister—let his name be emblazoned among the noble—Evan E. Young, reads the national literature and entertains every Saturday afternoon a group of Dominican poets.

After this rare scene I should have liked to take my old friend to two or three other places, to make his heart rejoice in the new day after so many years of sadness over his country's sufferings. We would have visited next a downtown office to meet another American, him of the underslung pipe, the squinting eye, the quick commanding attitude; the reformed banker, now following the business of reforming Senates and budgets and navies. Equally astounding with the American Minister would be this most picturesque character, who, between shifting from the Senate's presiding desk to the American Embassy at the Court of St. James's, had found a few weeks for voluntary service in revising the Dominican budget. Along with General Dawes were Mr. Sumner Welles, former United States Commissioner to Santo Domingo, and a dozen other distinguished American business and public men who had volunteered to help in a thorough study of ways to reorganize government finances. One meets American commissions all around the Caribbean, but never before has the author seen one composed of men so determined to demonstrate neighborliness by furnishing technical help, with no disposition to impose advice or meddle with domes-

tic questions. The whole commission, with their clerical force, cost the Dominican government less than ten thousand dollars. No commissioner took a salary, and several actually paid their own expenses.

The Dawes mission reported that the economic and financial condition of the republic, with its internal resources, its million population and its eighteen thousand square miles of territory, is basically sound. The total debt is $22,650,000, which the commission thinks should be paid off as rapidly as possible in order to rid itself of the United States collector of customs, the maintenance of which office was declared undesirable. Think of a United States commission admitting that it was natural for the people of a country where we had intervened, to prefer to conduct their own affairs!

"Let me tell you," says General Dawes as he pulls away at the famous pipe, "these Dominican people are remarkable. I am captivated by them. They are working as hard as we are on this study, and that means day and night. They will dig out any information we want, no matter what effort it costs. I am glad to see you showing your appreciation of them. This is what all Americans must do. Mr. Morrow is showing the success of this same policy in Mexico. We must get that spirit into all our diplomatic and spiritual relations with our Latin American neighbors." If Garcia Godoy had required some time to get over his surprise that an American visitor had read his books, what would his astonishment have been to hear an American ex-Vice President making such statements and rendering such service?

Neighborly Service

Then, after such a visit, I should take my dear friend, if he were still among us, to see yet another demonstration of North American friendship which was not hinted at when we two met. This next visit would show that the Christian forces in the country which he had judged only by its political agents have united to demonstrate to his people the active spirit of brotherhood. Just half a block from where the commission is working, and across the street from the place where an American admiral used to function as executive of the republic, we find the new Hospital Internacional. The institution is easily recognized because of the crowd around the door, awaiting its turn in the clinic. They come from everywhere, on foot, on donkeys, in ox-carts, in autos. In six months they represented sixty-three villages and towns, some from the most remote places at the northern end of the island. For public hospitals are few and far between—not a dozen in the whole republic of a million people.

Here is a woman with a skin affection. She begged a ride from a passing auto, confiding to the driver that she was going across the island to consult a witch doctor who had been treating her for several months. Her condition is bad; she has found no improvement. She is persuaded to come to the Hospital Internacional and three weeks later goes home entirely cured. There are tens of thousands like her in the country districts who have never known any scientific medical aid, depending in childbirth, for example, on the attendance of midwives who may

recommend, among other things, the newborn baby's sleeping with a young pig. A child is rushed in who has been stung in the mouth by a poisonous spider; but for the timely aid of the doctor, death would result. Another poor woman comes weeping to the hospital after failing to secure entrance elsewhere, and five minutes later gives safe birth to her child.

Here is the baby clinic, one of the most urgently needed departments. The nurse from the United States with her assistant is weighing babies; the mothers sit by watching anxiously; the prepared feedings are supplied. Among the poor the neglect of infants is distressing. Here is baby Conchita who weighed not quite six pounds at the age of six months, and now, after three months' attendance at the clinic, weighs twenty pounds.

Upstairs in a private room the highest ranking foreign diplomat in the capital is a patient. We learn later that after returning to his own country he was informed by a leading specialist that the treatment given by the Dominican doctor could not have been improved upon. In another room is a young Dominican physician suffering from tuberculosis. What shall be done with this fine young fellow, who has contracted the disease through overwork in the service of his people? There is no place for special treatment of tuberculosis in all Santo Domingo. Here is a young North American, or it may be an Englishman or a Frenchman—his nationality is of no importance—who has been in an accident. He gets what he needs, first class diagnosis and nursing care.

As visitors we are accompanied on our rounds by the

Dominican physician in charge. As a rule there has been a doctor from the United States at the head of this institution, but since the last one went home Dominican physicians have conducted it, in a most efficient way. This has been an additional indication of the possibilities of trained Dominican leadership. It is now expected that Dominican physicians will be given opportunities for graduate work in the United States and in the new School of Tropical Medicine in Porto Rico, and that they will have equal standing with the North American staff physicians.

The charming girls who are in training for service in the hospital and the community are native Dominicans. Trained nurses are one of the greatest needs of the population. Most of the hospitals employ Catholic sisters without requiring them to have scientific training. Physicians must do the best they can with untrained helpers. The Hospital Internacional, we are told, is the only institution in the country that gives scientific training for nursing. Two of the graduates expect to leave in a few days for further training in one of the great hospitals in Chicago. They are the first of a long line of señoritas who will take to the North a new conception of Dominican womanhood, as they will bring back a new idea of American service.

In the ministry of these trained nurses we are witnessing a new idea taking hold of a people. It opens a new field of service for many young women whose work in the past has been limited to household drudgery; it reveals a new way for the young and strong to uplift their country; it sets in motion a whole new series of social concepts as to

the unity of rich and poor, of public and private agencies, in attacking a great national problem.

The nurses' graduating exercises are held this evening. The audience of several hundred is predominantly of young people. They follow eagerly the remarks of the orator concerning the worldwide health program that is being developed through national governments, the League of Nations, and Christian institutions like the Hospital Internacional; the intimate relationship is pointed out which exists between a sound body and a healthy soul. Following the exercises all are invited into the patio to see a volley ball game arranged by the pastor of the church, who is also a leader in the sport life of the community. Here also is a new element in the life of the people. Sports have been almost unknown, but now basketball, baseball and other games are becoming popular. This pastor has accepted a new position in which he will give his whole time to the development of games, mass athletics, playgrounds and clubs in the various cities of the republic. An amusing letter which he shows us records the effect on the exquisite Latin manner of violent contact with the exigencies of sport:

"We are pleased at this time to extend to you and your fellow warriors our warmest and most sincere felicitations because of the decisive triumph which you gained the other night. May these laurels serve as a stimulus for many more conquests! While we yet feel on our cheeks the dust of our defeat, pressed upon us by one of your sad kisses, we can do no more than trace out new plans that in some not distant date we may change these grey kisses of the

dust into those red-blooded ones of the Goddess of Victory. Therefore we have decided to ask you to loan us your patio for two nights each week for practice, it being understood that we will pay for the light and other expenses connected with its use."

On the other side of the patio is the large building which houses a reading room, bookstore, music room, classrooms and a residence for the staff. This institution, recently established under North American patronage, is the only place in the capital city affording Dominicans a public reading room, evening classes, and an opportunity to meet friends without having to buy a drink or to pay dues. We saw that the bookstore was an institution of particular interest, the only place in the republic where modern works on social, religious, and scientific subjects can be secured. Señor Godoy would be interested in hearing that leaders in the educational life of the city are to be often found in the shop, and that its distribution of good literature is having wide influence.

After we had made a visit like this and started back to La Vega, speeding along the winding macadam, so smooth, so white, gliding under the palms and flamboyants, I feel sure that Garcia Godoy, who represents for me the Dominican soul, would begin to see poetry in that road. It is possible that this hard pavement, foreign-built, may lead on into a new life for his beloved land. It is surely better to be able to cross the island thus quickly than to have to go around it by sea. It will mean much for comfort, for education, for commerce, for progress.

We sit silent, the friend I have summoned in my imagination and I, both of us thinking of this whole perplexing business of how we are going to keep both romance and roads in the modern world. His brow is knit with a big question. He is troubled. With a little encouragement he will speak his thoughts.

"This hospital, this chapel, this social center we have visited—who supports them all? What's behind it? Is it just another way the United States has of controlling Santo Domingo—'peaceful penetration' through sugar mills and loans and polite diplomats, instead of the harsher means of military occupation?"

"Well, señor," I say to him, "let's talk it over. Here is involved one of the biggest questions concerning right relations among the peoples of the American continent. In the first place, let us realize that all the people of any country do not come under a single class. There are good and bad citizens in both your land and mine. Sugar companies, diplomats and churches have many different divisions within themselves; and besides these groups there are scores of other groups in government, in business and in religion that represent diversified and often opposing interests. Take the sugar interests, which at present are giving the Caribbean countries the most worry. We have only to look at the way the Cuban, Porto Rican, Philippine, Louisiana and Colorado groups oppose each other in the tariff wrangle at Washington to see that even the sugar interests cannot be lumped together. Furthermore, there are many different types of participants in sugar control. Some have deeply at heart the social advancement of the people, and

gladly subscribe to schools and hospitals in the West Indies. Others frankly declare they have no concern for such things, and admit no responsibility for aiding in solving the educational and social problems of the countries from which their profits come.

"As for the diplomats, the variety of attitudes in their group cannot be better illustrated than by the differences—fundamental, temperamental and every other sort—between American Minister Russell in 1919 and American Minister Young in 1929. One believed in domination by force, the other believes in cooperation by conference. As for the churches, I wonder if you realize that they are the strongest critics of both the commercial interests and the government whenever these seem to tend toward exploitation of the people?"

"Do you mean to say, Señor Inman, that there is any great number of people in the United States who protested against the occupation of my country by their marines? I did not suppose that there were any of your people who cared, or who, if they did care, would trouble to protest against such action."

"Well, *mi querido amigo,* I can only assure you that the majority of United States citizens as a matter of principle have been and are opposed to such intervention. The trouble is that often we are not sufficiently informed about the cases where the principle is being violated to protest effectively. But I can unhesitatingly state that the people of the churches have raised their voices most vigorously against the use of the big stick in dealing with Mexico, Nicaragua, Haiti and your own country. The church

groups associated in the missionary societies have recently taken the strongest kind of stand against exploitation of weaker nations by stronger ones. At the International Missionary Conference held in Jerusalem to consider exactly the kind of question here raised, the meeting made this declaration:

" 'We repudiate any attempt on the part of trade or of governments, openly or covertly, to use the missionary cause for ulterior purposes. Our gospel by its very nature and by its declaration of the sacredness of human personality stands against all exploitation of man by man, so that we cannot tolerate any desire, conscious or unconscious, to use this movement for purposes of fastening a bondage, economic, political, or social, on any people. Going deeper, on our part we would repudiate any symptoms of a religious imperialism that would desire to impose beliefs and practices on others in order to manage their souls in their supposed interests.'

"May I add, señor, that the North American Christians who are giving their time and money to develop schools, hospitals and churches in Santo Domingo and other parts of the world are doing it not from any sense of inherent superiority, but for precisely the same reason that they do it in their own country—that is, in order to follow the example of Christ by helping those who are in need of help for both soul and body. They give their spiritual message along with their service through schools and hospitals, not with the object of replacing one organization with another, but to emphasize in every possible way their conviction that in their own land as in every other the simple

teachings of Christ offer the only complete solution for national as well as personal problems."

Cooperation, Not Imposition

"But," says Señor Godoy, "these people are Protestants, are they not? And do they not expect to turn our people away from the Catholic faith? Understand, I am not myself a churchman, for the church in our lands has generally been too reactionary to command the support of the intellectual classes. Nevertheless we do not want foreigners coming to dictate to us concerning our religion."

"In this I can fully sympathize with you, my dear friend. But the primary object of such work as you have just seen is certainly not to detach people from a national religion. The majority of the patients in the hospitals and students in these schools are Roman Catholics, and they are not made to feel embarrassed on that account. Sometimes liberally minded Catholics are employed as doctors, teachers and nurses. Of course we are dealing here with a very delicate question, where not all concerned would agree, and where not only organizations but even individuals would take one position under certain circumstances, and another under different circumstances. But I can assure you that there are many Christians in the United States who sympathize with the position of our mutual friend Gabriela Mistral, that fine woman poet of Chile, who feels that unless Catholics and Protestants quit wasting their energies in opposing each the church of the other, the forces of materialism will eliminate both. Let me read you part of a letter Gabriela Mistral sent to the Protestant Congress

meeting in Montevideo in 1925. I have copied it in my notebook:

"'We work, Protestants and Catholics, around the vertebral column of Christianity; let us seek more ardently our common points than our differences. In these days when some are talking of presenting a common formidable front against such debatable questions as the yellow peril, let us think of the great Christian opposition to materialism . . . materialism as a norm of conduct, materialism loosening sanctions, lowering education to the level of an economic training, sinking its teeth into international relationships, counseling the oppression of the weak, and even reaching out to our religion, to kill the mystic element.'

"That, surely, is the voice of a spirit that is seeking, with yours and mine, for unity. The group of North Americans behind this work in Santo Domingo cannot be satisfied for your people to know them only through their military forces, their bankers and their diplomats, their automobiles and sugar mills. They want you to know the finest of all their manhood and womanhood, the best of their literature, their educational resources, and their religious life. They send their best, not to direct but to cooperate with your best. As we moved about, did you not notice Dominican physicians, Dominican teachers, Dominican nurses, Dominican ministers, working side by side with North Americans?"

"Well," replies my dear friend, "I am glad we can talk together about these things. But do you mean that North American Protestants do not favor the exploitation of Santo Domingo, that they have protested against intervention in

our Latin American countries, that they are not serving us simply to stimulate foreign business, or to win us to foreign churches, and that Dominicans themselves are ultimately to lead in the work that has been instigated on their behalf?"

"That, señor, is my understanding. And let me tell you that, in this matter of the church, Santo Domingo has come to occupy a notable position on just that basis. In few other places in the world has unity in Christian forces been so strongly demonstrated as here. The managing boards of the various church denominations have often agreed in the past to limit their work to a particular part of a country so as not to duplicate the efforts of other denominations, but seldom have the boards come together in one working organization which completely unifies their operations. The connection between this organization in Santo Domingo and the similarly united forces of Porto Rico is also unique in church procedure. Some of the finest ministers in Porto Rico have volunteered their services for Santo Domingo. They did not have to learn a foreign language, and they found a number of their compatriots already in Santo Domingo awaiting their ministry. The united churches in Porto Rico provided the funds for the beginning of the hospital there. Students for the ministry in Santo Domingo are sent to the Union Theological Seminary in Porto Rico. Another unusual side of this service is that from the beginning the various divisions of work—educational, evangelistic, medical and social—were recognized as equally important. Moreover, the groups of Christians functioning in the various centers are called simply the

Evangelical church, with no use of denominational names as in the United States. The young churches are thus encouraged to work out their own organization, adapted to their own and not to foreign conditions.

"I have talked of this in detail to you, señor, hoping to point the fact that while Santo Domingo has had a peculiarly unfortunate experience in the matter of political intervention, it is having a peculiarly fortunate experience in the matter of the Christian forces at work in the island."

About half way in our journey to La Vega we would stop at a place called La Cumbre to observe a unique educational experiment which recalls the beginning of Booker T. Washington's efforts at Tuskegee. The son of an American missionary for reasons of health took up here a few years ago a claim of one hundred acres and began to develop it alone. It was hard work to conquer the tropical forests. The farmers of the neighborhood offered to lend their boys to help on condition that the young man would give the boys the rudiments of an education. Three boys were taken into the little shack, and week by week others came until now there are about twenty. They have built themselves an additional shack and developed a regular program of work, study, play and worship. The surroundings are the most primitive, but here is life! Battle with the forests, battle with the multiplication table, battle with the ball, battle with moral questions. It is the most enthusiastic group found in all Santo Domingo. The youngsters in the neighboring sections, where there are no schools, no churches, no social centers, no stores for miles around, hang around that little place at La Cumbre seeking

permission even to sleep on the floor in order to share in its activities.

Some very good schools are being built in Santo Domingo towns, but in country districts like this any educational and health program seems remote. The republic is predominantly rural, and its opportunities, Garcia Godoy might point out to me, lie in agricultural development; anyone who can help the country people toward more scientific farming, better health, and a better social outlook will receive the gratitude of all Dominicans. So he would say, and so say all good men like him.

Where Do the New Roads Lead?

I have used the figure of this man, with his warm Latin spirit, his kindness, his clear intellect, his longing for a new chance for his country in whose future he so profoundly believed, as an embodiment of the best of Santo Domingo. Will his people get a chance to develop along their own lines, express their own particular culture, contribute their own part to the world's life? Or will their little farms be thrown into great estates, their farmers changed into peons, their costly new roads and port works mean continual borrowing from the foreigner, and their material prosperity come to signify merely a struggle to go the pace of their neighbors?

When I reflect on the influence that Garcia Godoy, that wise and temperately minded man, believed the United States to be exerting on his country, I feel disposed to center my thinking on the symbol and meaning of its recent roads. Those very roads which have meant so much to Santo

Domingo's prosperity raise a number of questions connected with the introduction by foreigners of a modern machine-made life into a land so industrially backward as Santo Domingo. Those roads were built by the foreign military occupation. They must be kept in repair, and the habit of building new roads kept going, along with such other activities as replacing worn-out machinery, erecting new public buildings, developing new port works planned by the foreigner. All these activities require more capital, more capital suggests another foreign loan, and such a loan would prolong the life of the foreign receivership, introducing still more foreign machinery, placing still more of the country's financial life in the keeping of foreign banks.

The more roads that are built, the greater the increase in the number of imported automobiles, with the demand for oil and repairs and extensions and for bigger and better garages and service stations. New steamship transportation brings the tourist, who tells the Dominican that he ought to have a new government building, a new palace of justice, a new what-not. Gradually the cost of living rises to the level set by the foreigner. The few Dominicans who are able to press into the foreign commercial circles as attorneys, doctors or engineers may keep up the pace, but the laboring man, though he may receive a little higher salary, finds his living expenses mounting beyond it. The average Dominican among them is pushed into a strenuous mechanized life which turns him from a fairly contented human with few needs into a continuously fussy individual worrying about that enemy to all happiness, a budget. The importation of machinery in Santo Domingo has been rapid

during the last fifteen years. Naturally it comes from the United States, because American sugar firms and American contractors order machinery from their own rather than another country. The American filling station and signboard are beginning to dominate the Dominican landscape.

With sugar the prevailing industry, all others must dovetail into it. Foreign corporations import cheap labor from Haiti, the Negroes bringing with them their strange dialects, their voodoo drums, their magic. The foreigners like to trade with other foreigners and to buy imported goods. The merchant selling to the laborers finds they are able to buy little, and cheap goods must be sold at a large margin of profit when sales are slow. This situation opens the door to the foreign mail-order house, which naturally has a fatal effect on the native retailer.

The threat to Dominican independence today is not that of military intervention. It is the threat of foreign commercial efficiency which may force the government to back the new mechanism to the neglect of fundamental Dominican conditions not adapted to carry the load of the highly mechanized life of the United States.

The Dominican must meet the force of foreign business from three directions. If he can keep the foreigner from getting hold of too much land, if he can keep from purchasing for himself too much expensive machinery, and if he can employ Dominican labor to do his work, he may escape from the perilous situations that face Cuba and Porto Rico. But the government will need to take deep thought and strong measures to encourage those crops and industries which can be handled with little capital, and the

products of which can be marketed in an economic way.

Santo Domingo has in several respects the clearest road for development of all the West Indies. It has no complications with other governments, except the arrangement for a United States collector of customs which will be automatically eliminated on the payment of the outstanding loan. It does not have the handicap of a one-crop country like Cuba, the overpopulation of Porto Rico, the acute race problem of Haiti. It has a long record of revolution, working to overthrow on the one hand a dictatorship and on the other an inefficient government. However, it may be that the deep and abiding fear of the return of the United States Marine Corps, along with an increasingly educated electorate and a new appreciation of moral and spiritual values, may serve to discourage revolution, disregard of the constitution, alliances between executive and judiciary, use of the army as a political force, and use of government funds for personal advancement, all of which in Santo Domingo and other Latin American countries have furnished both the causes of backwardness and the excuses for foreign interventions.

Roads and romance! Follow the roads—they lead to peace and prosperity. But, Dominicans! For your own sake and for the sake of the world, so rapidly mechanizing into concrete and into steel, let not your roads, Dominicans, rob you of your romance!

VII

OVERPOPULATION AND UNDERFEEDING

"See these two little girls, twins, brought to the hospital by their mother a week ago. The rings on their bodies show that they have pellagra, a disease caused by undernourishment. We are feeding them lots of good butter, cream, whole wheat bread and vegetables—we give them absolutely no medicine—and already they are showing great improvement. We have a number of other children now in the hospital, and there are thousands all over the island, who need nothing but good balanced nourishment to cure them. But there is no hope of their getting it." The speaker was Dr. William Galbreath, head physician of the Presbyterian Hospital at San Juan, Porto Rico, the outstanding institution of its kind on the island.

My visit took place a few months after the terrible cyclone of September, 1928, and the situation was particularly acute because the citrous fruits which are usually available to supplement the beans and rice diet of the majority of Porto Ricans, were not to be had. The good doctor was at his wits' end. These were as beautiful little girls as one could find in any land, with lustrous black eyes, curly locks, and regular features. But they could not be kept in the hospital after they were cured, and when they went back to their parents, who were poor *jibaros,* country people, tenants on a big plantation, living in direst poverty, the twins

would almost certainly drop back to their former condition.

Since that date the state of affairs in Porto Rico has grown steadily worse. On August 17, 1929, the *Puerto Rico Evangélico* carried the following editorial:

"More than a thousand laborers from the country paraded the streets yesterday soliciting work," says a headline from *El Mundo*. "A telegram from Camuy reports terrible economic conditions, workmen in misery soliciting jobs." These are only samples of reports appearing daily in the press. Although we might publish a book filled with such, half would not be told about the economic problems that confront us. One only needs to walk along the streets and plazas and observe the great number of unoccupied people begging "a little bit of work," and others trying to forget themselves in play, all forming part of an army defeated by the most terrible enemy, poverty. The emaciated faces which we constantly see among grown people and children are testimony of the great tragedy of hunger which day by day is reenacted in an infinite number of Porto Rican homes. Entire families lie down to sleep without having tasted a mouthful of food—children who beg and cry until sleep prostrates them, and then dream of some delightful food. If the physicians always told the truth concerning the cause of death of many persons, they would not say they died of anemia or of rheumatism, but would write the simple truth, "They died of hunger." Because it is hunger which kills thousands of men, women and children who die forgotten in corners because they have too much pride to beg.

Those at fault for this situation are the people who have money in the banks. They do not care to invest it because they fear losing it. In Porto Rico we lack the spirit of cooperation, since we lack mutual confidence.

Selfishness . . . makes impossible the development of industries which might help the poor. Over against this picture there is another one even sadder; it is the black picture of vice and prostitution.

While the economic problem is mounting to the point of revolution, the pool of the race track rises to forty thousand dollars, a fabulous amount never before known, while misery rules and hunger seizes its victims. The cinemas, the race track and the boxing halls are doing more business than ever. The repugnant wine-cup, the nocturnal joy-ride, and conjugal infidelity are the three evils which . . . are sinking our country to a most dangerous moral level.

Economic Problems in Porto Rico

All careful observers of Porto Rican life recognize that the economic problem is bound up with the solution of every question the people are facing. In this little island, one hundred miles long by thirty-five miles wide, there are a million and a half people, making Porto Rico one of the most densely populated countries in the world, with four hundred persons to one square mile. As Governor Towner said in 1925, "In Porto Rico we have reached the limit beyond which we cannot go without an increasing proportion of our population continuing permanently unemployed. Even with the full development of our now untilled lands and with intensive cultivation of that which now is used, it is doubtful if we could give full time employment to all our people."

The present Governor of Porto Rico, Colonel Theodore Roosevelt, inaugurated in the fall of 1929, has also recognized that overpopulation and underfeeding are the funda-

mental difficulties, and in the opening months of his administration gave sign that he desires to deal with them vigorously. From the time that Porto Rico came within the domain of the United States, not only has the population continued to multiply rapidly but there has been the gradual disappearance of the small farmer. Porto Rico has always been an agricultural country, and today seventy-eight per cent of the people live in the rural districts. Most of them formerly owned a few acres of land on which they produced citrous fruits, garden truck, coffee and tobacco. These small land holdings have gradually disappeared, and now a great majority of the former owners are working for the sugar, tobacco and coffee companies.

Sugar is the dominant crop and, as has already been pointed out, sugar can only be produced at a profit by great corporations with immense capital and modern machinery. So long as the price of sugar is high the laborer may be in fairly good condition, but when the price drops, unemployment and low wages throw out of joint the industrial life of the island. Not only the lower-class day laborers but the middle classes as well are affected. Many of the latter sell their properties outright and squander the money received, or, having mortgaged their property to keep up with their own social group and with the rising demands of living, are compelled finally to sell out to the big corporations. Since they are not trained to work with their hands, they must then either remain in Porto Rico supported by a government job or by their relatives, or migrate to New York, as so many thousands are doing, and become a problem in that city. The greatest suffering, of course, is among

the country people, the *jibaros,* who are too often regarded simply as machines for gathering in the harvest for the owners of great estates. They are uneducated, half-starved, and living always on the brink of physical destruction, yet they number about three-fourths of the population. Their economic problem cannot be solved unless at the same time their education is directed toward their particular needs. Some Porto Ricans make the familiar argument that with the existing moral standards, any advance in wages for them would be simply wasted in more gambling and worse vices.

Dr. José Padin, appointed Commissioner of Education at the beginning of 1930, says: "The social, economic and vital redemption of the country laborer is essentially a problem of education. In order to have the *jibaro* well nourished and healthful, we must begin to make him a useful and conscientious citizen by convincing ourselves that he is a person and not a thing. It is impossible to redeem a people without the intelligent cooperation of the people themselves; and this requires education. The *jibaro* does not need alms nor intermittent succor, but that equality of opportunity which should be the legitimate heritage of every citizen of a democracy."

Ordinary agricultural laborers receive in some cases as little as fifty and sixty cents a day. Day laborers in the sugar industry receive as much as a dollar and a quarter a day. Between 1915 and 1925 the wages of a sugar laborer increased 26.5 per cent at the same time that the cost of the family diet increased 48.6 per cent. When the average wage was from sixty cents to one dollar a day, the cost of a family diet in the sugar districts was 55.4 cents. As a rule,

the sugar worker is employed only five or six months out of the year, and his existence during the period of unemployment is very difficult. In his 1920 report the Acting Commissioner of Agriculture declared that "out of 1,300,000 inhabitants more than 300,000 are poor, barefooted people who live in huts without any comfort and even lack the means of securing the most elementary necessities of life." Conditions have not bettered since then. Porto Rico is raising only about one-half the food she needs, a condition both economically unsound and a detriment to health, since fresh foods are better than canned or preserved ones, and transportation places a prohibitive price on the very foods most needed, like fresh vegetables and fruits.

The predominant place of sugar is due primarily to the fact that in comparison with competitors Porto Rico enjoys a privileged position in the United States market, while Dominican sugar must pay a duty of $2.20 a hundredweight upon entering and Cuban sugar a duty of $1.76. Aided by this tariff, poor land can produce a paying sugar crop in Porto Rico, when in countries like Cuba or Santo Domingo such land could not be used for sugar and would therefore be available for the small farmer to produce vegetables and cheap fruit. So while the Porto Rican is compelled to pay the high prices of the United States for what he does not raise, the sugar producers, protected from competition by absence of tariff, are able to make excessive profits. The ignorance and indifference of the people of the United States and the *laissez faire* attitude of their government have enabled this economic policy to wag along in Porto Rico without realization of its fatal results.

Two remedies that have been proposed are tariff autonomy and agrarian reform. As to tariff autonomy, the argument is that if Porto Rico were allowed to enter into commercial agreements with near-by countries and to regulate the duties upon foreign products, this might enable her to find cheaper sources of food and to develop trade where it was most to her advantage. As to agrarian reform, the Congress of the United States passed a resolution in May, 1900, limiting every corporation engaged in agriculture in Porto Rico to the ownership and control of land not in excess of five hundred acres, just as it limited similar corporations in the Philippines to two thousand acres. But the joker was that the resolution did not contain any provision for a penalty. As a result it has not been enforced.

As in continental United States, the farm problem in Porto Rico is most urgent. The farmers complain that their taxes go largely to support the towns. Each municipality includes not only a town but the surrounding country community. Most of the taxes are paid by the country people but are spent by the officials who live in the towns and are interested in urban improvements. A large part of the twenty million dollars' bonded indebtedness of the municipalities must be paid from taxes on farms. Yet Enrique Landrón, one of the leaders in the farmers' movement, says that of the total proceeds of the municipal improvement bonds, ninety per cent was spent for the towns proper and three per cent for the plans, leaving only seven per cent for rural district improvements.

Three major solutions are usually urged upon countries that have Porto Rico's problem of overpopulation; namely,

immigration, industrialization, and birth control. Almost every young person on the island hopes to come to the United States some day, and accommodations on steamships are all taken months in advance of sailing. How to take care of the great number of Porto Ricans who do come is becoming a serious national problem. There are now more than one hundred thousand in New York alone, and through poverty, inexperience, and ignorance, many of them are being driven into vice and crime. Santo Domingo, larger but with less population, and just across the straits, would seem to be a natural outlet, and the Dominican government recently offered inducements for immigrants if the Porto Rican government would pay the transportation. But the arrangement fell through. The Evangelical Union of Porto Rico in 1929 approved a scheme for an Evangelical colony to be transported to Santo Domingo. When the language and the climate are the same as those of several underpopulated countries of the Caribbean, it would seem that some such outlet might be found. But the sad outcome of many a rosy scheme for colonies makes the Porto Rican government officials very hesitant to approve any such movement.

As to industrialization, except for the sugar *centrales* and many cigar and cigarette factories, there are few industries in Porto Rico. The creation of industries is handicapped by the lack of capital. Manufacture of toys, cocoanut oil, shoes, tapioca, bags, and fruit juices has been proposed. Progress has already been made in the clothing and needlework industry, which now engages about forty thousand workers. Embroidery and ready-made clothing

were exported to the value of nine million dollars in 1928. It is said that New York dealers in women's wear are planning to have an increasing supply made in Porto Rico. This could prove a great benefit, always provided that conditions are carefully guarded so as not to allow sweatshop conditions and other exploitation of human beings.

This is not the place to discuss the highly controversial question of birth control, but economic and social scientists are stressing its importance in dealing with population problems.

A New Interest

The ill wind of that terrible hurricane of September, 1928, seems to have blown some good to Porto Rico in attracting attention to the island's problems. The chairman of the Insular Affairs Committee of Congress, the Hon. Edgar R. Kiess, headed a commission that left for the island soon after the hurricane, and the Red Cross in its relief work gathered much interesting data and brought widespread attention to needs. President Coolidge became a party to a lively debate over general conditions, following the delivery to him of a message by Colonel Charles A. Lindbergh, who, while making his memorable first flight through the Antilles in the early part of 1928, was persuaded to call the President's attention to imperative needs of the people. Washington has recently witnessed a number of interesting tilts between visiting Porto Rican commissions and the administration. President Hoover has now taken a hand with the hope of improving matters. Students of social conditions have also

become interested, and the Brookings Institute is making a thorough survey. It is to be hoped that all these stirrings will mean that a government that has allowed a few corporations and politicians to have their own way until the island has drifted into a deplorable situation, will soon inaugurate constructive changes.

A careful student of conditions, Dr. Philo W. Drury, secretary of the Evangelical Union, headed a commission to present to the Congressional Committee on Insular Affairs a statement which called particular attention to five problems—education, economic conditions, health, rehabilitation, and political status. Concerning education the commission declared:

According to the latest report of the governor, almost forty per cent of the people are to be classed as illiterate. The Department of Education has been hampered seriously because of lack of funds, and at the present time almost one-half of the children between the years of five and eighteen are without school privileges. The recent hurricane has done untold damage . . . and unless there is help from some outside source, the work of generalizing the privileges of education will be greatly retarded and the people will face a real menace in its development. There is great need for the establishment of vocational schools at this time of reconstruction and readjustment.

Porto Ricans who have furnished money and most of the teachers, as well as officials of the United States who have furnished much of the technical skill, deserve the most enthusiastic praise for what has been accomplished for education during thirty years of cooperation. Nothing gives more joy to a thoughtful visitor than the beautiful school

buildings, the well trained teachers, and the bright groups of children found in every section of the island.

Three months before the United States forces landed in Porto Rico in the autumn of 1898, it was reported that under the Spanish authorities there were in existence on the island three hundred and eighty schools for boys; one hundred and thirty-eight schools for girls, one school for adults, and twenty-six private schools. These schools had an enrollment of 44,861 pupils, only about half being in actual attendance. The total amount spent for education was $185,866. At an assembly held by request of the chief military authorities in October, 1898, the citizens of San Juan expressed their approbation of a proposed public school system such as that of the United States. Today the island possesses an organized establishment for public instruction comprising the principal types of our institutions, from the elementary school to the university professional schools. Of 439,000 children of school age 230,000 are enrolled. The schools are housed in twenty-five hundred buildings and served by about five thousand teachers.

It is the people of Porto Rico themselves who have paid the cost of this system. The per capita wealth of the island is only one-sixth that of continental United States, or less than half that of the least prosperous among our states. Yet out of their slender resources the people of Porto Rico have built a monumental establishment from the ground up. The average educational budget is about thirty per cent of all disbursements.

Besides the large percentage of illiteracy still remaining, the educational program has two special handicaps. The

first is that it is built on a traditional literary basis, which teaches the child to read but does little to prepare him for life. Notwithstanding that about eighty per cent of the people live in the country, the school program is largely directed toward turning out candidates for white collar jobs, which have long had many times more applicants than there are vacancies. The second handicap—in many ways a real advantage—is the inherent difficulty of bilingual instruction; for while Porto Ricans realize the necessity of learning English for commercial and political reasons, they are entirely averse to giving up their beautiful Castilian tongue.

In a recent survey of Porto Rican education made by the International Institute of Teachers College the following remarks are made:

The inadequacy of the funds available for this and other government services results in part from persistent refusal of large corporations to pay taxes. Every device of legal delay and flat refusal to pay have made collection of regularly levied taxes from these corporations difficult, slow, or impossible. A policy, of uncertain origin, against pressing these delinquents to a point provoking them to activities in Washington has obstructed vigorous prosecution of the cases against those corporations known to have politically powerful connections in the States. Exhaustive examination of Porto Rico's financial situation should make known to the American public where fault lies, if fault lies, for the financial difficulty in which Porto Rico finds herself at the present time. The framing of tax laws should be so expertly done and the determining of tax policies so carefully considered that taxes once levied are undoubtedly collectible.

When the Porto Rican commission recently came to Washington to ask for more home rule, certain Porto Rico sugar interests cabled President Coolidge a protest against statehood for the island on the ground that it would augment the taxes. When the president of an Evangelical school in Porto Rico recently solicited a contribution from an absentee landlord in New York, his reply was a strong negative; according to him, the educator was doing more harm in the island than anyone else, since he was disturbing people who before they were educated were happy and contented with their lot, no matter what that lot happened to be.

Public Health

As to health, while great progress has been made in this respect, yet the needs are large and urgent. The income of the government of the island is not sufficient to meet these needs. For instance, there are many thousands of persons suffering from tuberculosis, the large majority of whom are without attention from the authorities because of lack of room in the few institutions available. The director of one institution which has twenty-five beds stated a short time ago that there are almost three thousand persons who ask in vain for its help. Such a situation threatens the well-being of the people. A disaster like a hurricane greatly increases this danger, in view of the deplorable conditions under which so many of the people must live, especially in the rural districts, without adequate clothing, housing or food. Lack of employment constantly intensifies the situation.

Of the children from one of the poorer sections of San Juan, ninety-five per cent gave positive reaction to a tuberculosis test, and eighty per cent suffered from chronic intestinal troubles. The Porto Rican infant mortality rate is approximately two and a half times that of the United States. In the poor quarter of one city in 1929 a municipal hospital consisting of a couple of ramshackle board huts housed men and women in the last stages of tuberculosis. Sanitation and means for preventing contagion were almost entirely lacking. In the little board huts around the hospital were crowded families the children of which were unquestionably being infected by the disease.

As was pointed out by President Coolidge, there exists today in Porto Rico a modern Department of Health completely manned by Porto Ricans, which has done magnificent work in reducing the death rate, having almost completely freed the island of smallpox and yellow fever. A great fight has been waged on hookworm by the Rockefeller Foundation, which states that this disease is a "serious menace to the economic life of Porto Rico . . . Even light infection with hookworm causes serious mental retardation. Probably much of the money that is now being provided for schools is lost because of the defective mentality produced by the hookworm disease, which renders the pupils incapable of assimilating instruction."

An important new movement is the recent establishment of a school of tropical medicine, through the combined efforts of the University of Porto Rico and Columbia University. Three hospitals are maintained under philanthropic agencies: St. Luke's Memorial Hospital at Ponce

by the Protestant Episcopal Church; Ryder Memorial Hospital at Humacao by the Congregational Church; and the Hospital Presbiteriano at San Juan by the Presbyterian Church in the U.S.A. The last mentioned is one of the finest hospitals in the tropics. Over fifty thousand patients were cared for in the wards and clinics in a single year recently, and yet those who conduct the hospital feel that their major contribution is the training or preparation of native nurses, and the inspiration given to every municipality to erect for itself a hospital like El Presbiteriano, as it is affectionately known throughout the island.

Porto Rico's death rate is twice that of continental United States, half of the deaths occurring among children under five years of age. The people are poor and physicians are scarce, so that medical care is not available to large sections of the population. Blood-poisoning and infections often follow the use of some superstitious remedy like the drinking of a soup made of boiled ants' nests, or application of a mixture of olive oil, tobacco and nutmeg to stop infections. Unripe lemons made into bracelets and placed on the wrists of a child are believed by some to cure a cold. By placing any jewelry he may possess within one end of a watermelon and catching the water as it comes through at the other end, the ignorant farmer hopes to relieve severe nervous diseases. Poverty, malnutrition and ignorance have combined to outweigh all natural advantages of climate, and have made tuberculosis four times more prevalent in Porto Rico than in the United States.

The Department of Health is active and plans the use

of every modern device of educational propaganda—specialized clinics, prenatal care and advice to expectant mothers, traveling demonstration units, sanitary inspection through bureaus concerned with tuberculosis, venereal diseases and so on, and general inspection, with the cooperation of municipal and local health authorities and with the increasing cooperation of insular and municipal school authorities. Despite all this activity, disease seems to be gaining on the department because of lack of funds.

Christian Service

One of the few forces in the island that seems to be seriously facing conditions is the young Evangelical church. If that church in other parts of the West Indies has seemed to occupy itself little with the everyday struggles of the people, in Porto Rico, since the American missionaries followed the flag to the island, the betterment of economic conditions has been an integral part of their program. This group is only a small percentage of the total population, with an actual membership, concerned directly with projected programs, of about twenty-five thousand and a working constituency of probably one hundred and fifty thousand. But the group is exceedingly well organized and united. People familiar with Protestant rivalries in the United States will be surprised to find, for example, that the journal *Puerto Rico Evangélico* represents eight different denominations, all of which have abandoned their separate papers to unite in one common voice. The paper actually acquired the largest circulation of any publication on the island. Many people outside of the Evangelical churches

subscribe to it, and quite commonly one sees it being read on trams, buses and in other public places.

This unity is the result of a wise first step taken by American mission boards when on entering Porto Rico each agreed to confine itself to a particular region. The zoning system has been continued, and in the best possible spirit. Outside of the two cities of San Juan and Ponce there are hardly half a dozen towns where more than one denomination is at work. This does not mean that each denomination has become sufficient unto itself. The Evangelical Union brings all the denominations together, and meetings of the denominations separately are considered as something like regional meetings of the larger union. The Evangelical Union has an executive secretary who is looked to by all the churches as an embodiment of fairness and the progressive spirit, and who is often consulted by all kinds of public officials and private agencies working for the good of the island.

The young ministers of these churches are educated in the Union Theological Seminary of Porto Rico, which is located directly in front of the University of Porto Rico, with which its relations are most helpful. The students take their academic work largely in the university, where their influence is recognized. The faculty of the two institutions cooperate closely—indeed some of the seminary professors teach in the university. The seminary is supported by the various denominations at work in the island.

When we drove to a beautiful town of perhaps fifteen hundred people and stopped on the main plaza in front of a church having its parish house next door, as the pastor

came out to our machine we noticed the cordial greeting extended him by the people as they passed. Across the plaza was the new municipal building, with a beautiful town clock which the minister had been authorized to buy on a recent visit to the United States with a blank check signed by the municipality. When the superintendent of the high school resigned, this minister was pressed into service for several months until the right kind of man could be found for the position.

The missionaries and ministers take an active interest in public schools and in other community institutions. The united churches have presented the government with a cottage for tuberculars. It was due to united Evangelical efforts that Porto Rico voted by a large majority for prohibition in 1917. The ministers are strong advocates of enforcement of all law, have developed a system of checking up on officials as to law enforcement, and observe an annual Law and Order Sunday. Every year a summer conference is held where church workers come together for about ten days, and prominent Porto Rican speakers and a lecturer from the States contribute to the program.

The Christian forces from the United States have been recognized as a part of its idealism. Along with the educational forces, they have helped Porto Rico in adapting herself to become a part of North American life, and have been able to secure the cooperation of many of the best elements in the island irrespective of creed. Thus when the Carnegie Corporation agreed to give Polytechnic Institute, San Germán, quarter of a million dollars provided that a similar sum was raised, Porto Ricans volunteered to

contribute because they saw that this school was emphasizing a combination of vocational training, intellectual training, and moral training that represented a most desirable element in Porto Rican life.

The Hon. Juan B. Hayke, Commissioner of Education in Porto Rico, declared in an address at the Havana Congress:

The North American missions came with their message of spiritual progress. They founded churches. These have gone on increasing little by little, in many places acquiring a strong position. Before the coming of the evangelicals, Porto Rico was indifferent in religious matters. It is not so now. If we were asked to tell briefly what the evangelical movement has meant in our country we should have to recognize that in this period Protestantism has made many gains. It has labored in many fields; it has built new houses of worship, it has spread religious activity to the remotest sections of the island, it has raised up schools and hospitals. The churches formerly supported by northern missions are beginning to furnish their own support. But the most important change is in the character of the country. We have now a people conscious of its duty and its responsibilities, more desirous of rendering service, firmer in its faith, simpler in its modes of living.

Political Questions

The undetermined political status of the island after a period of thirty years causes considerable unrest among its population. When Colonel Charles A. Lindbergh visited Porto Rico in February, 1928, the Legislative Assembly in passing a concurrent resolution welcoming him to the island declared: "The message of Porto Rico to your people

is, 'Grant us the freedom that you enjoy, for which you struggled, which you worship, which we deserve and which you have promised us. We ask the right to a place in the sun—this land of ours, brightened by the stars of your glorious flag . . . But we aspire also and above all to the government of our people, by our people, and for our people; that is to say, a republican form of government.'"

In 1900 the United States passed the Foraker Act, which provided for a governor of Porto Rico to be appointed by the President of the United States with the advice and consent of the Senate, and for a legislature having an elective Lower House of Delegates, and an upper house, the Executive Council, consisting of eleven administrative officials, at least five of whom were to be Porto Ricans appointed in the same manner as the governor. The inhabitants of Porto Rico were ascribed as "citizens of Porto Rico and as such entitled to the protection of the United States" unless they elected to preserve their allegiance to Spain. But the Foraker Act did not bestow American citizenship on Porto Ricans, and they were naturally very deeply dissatisfied at being "without a country." This injustice was corrected by the Jones Act of March 2, 1917, by which the government of Porto Rico was reorganized and its people were collectively naturalized, with a slight degree of limitation, as United States citizens. The Jones Act did not give Porto Ricans the right to vote for President of the United States; it gave them the right to be represented in Congress by a resident commissioner who might speak but not vote. Control of its own legislature was granted to the island, subject to veto by the governor and to annulment by the

United States Congress. The governor also has power to legislate for Porto Rico, and the present resident commissioner, Judge Córdova Dávila, has declared that this power is a cause of constant alarm, the adjournment of Congress in Washington always being a moment of relief in Porto Rico.

Advocacy by the inhabitants of Porto Rico of absolute independence has greatly diminished, one reason being the fear that the United States might erect tariff barriers that would destroy the island economically. Nevertheless most Porto Rican leaders demand self-government. It is an anomaly of their position that Porto Ricans upon taking up residence in one of the states of the United States may vote for President of that country, while if they remain in Porto Rico they are barred from full control even over their own local affairs.

We might consider the logical outcome of a policy of complete statehood. The admission of Porto Rico to the union would give her two senators and a larger number of representatives. Under some circumstances these representatives might hold the balance of power in Congress in matters of no local concern to Porto Rico but of great moment to the United States itself. Moreover, statehood would oblige Porto Rico to contribute to the Federal treasury the proceeds from income tax and customs which the United States now allows her to retain. Further, as Señor Córdova Dávila has pointed out, "There is no similarity between continentals and Porto Ricans from a racial point of view. The habits, customs, characteristics, idiosyncrasies, ideology and ethnology of the two people are

fundamentally different . . . The mental processes of the two races differ widely. Under the circumstances one should hardly expect unity in thought, feeling or action, were the two races brought together . . ."

Because of the practical objections to both statehood and independence, the Unionist and Republican parties seem to have dropped for the moment the planks which formerly distinguished them, and have concentrated their efforts to secure an elective governor for Porto Rico, who, they assume, would be a Porto Rican. There is a demand for the holding of a constitutional assembly to draw up a local constitution based on the principle of self-government and tariff autonomy. Another suggestion is the negotiation of a permanent treaty establishing that Porto Rico shall be self-governing, and that so far as foreign affairs are concerned it shall constitute a single unit with the United States, our State Department acting for Porto Rican interests abroad. Citizens of Porto Rico would thus be citizens of the United States and vice versa, with free trade between the two countries. Porto Rico would be authorized to make, with the consent of the Secretary of State, treaties of commerce with other countries, and no treaty of commerce made by the United States would be binding on Porto Rico without the consent of the latter's legislative body.

President Taft declared himself in favor of a relationship between Porto Rico and the United States analogous to that between Great Britain and her self-governing colonies, and other authorities have suggested that Porto Rico should be given dominion status. The House and the Senate

have at different times gone on record in favor of an elective governor, a proposal at one time supported by President Coolidge. The latter, however, administered a rebuke to the demands of Porto Rican leaders for self-government in a letter to Governor Towner, which declared that the Treaty of Paris contained no promise to the people of Porto Rico; that the United States government represented Porto Rico in the Pan American Union as much as it represented any of its states and territories, and that the government in action had a clean record in Porto Rico.

The other side of the picture, presented by Porto Ricans and by Latin Americans who long for race solidarity, is represented by Magda Portal, a Latin American intellectual who after a recent visit to the island expressed herself thus:

Porto Rico the dream island, bathed by an eternal sea of blue: I imagined it as a postal card view, created almost by fancy, hardly existing. This little island of America lives a languid life under the shade of its tall palms, dreams of an impossible ideal. The Porto Rican, who is in reality a typical Latin American, is under the dominance of an intrusive race which has come to the island attracted by the fertility of the tropical soil and the passivity of the workers, as well as by the beauty of the scenery, appropriate for vacations from the agitated, turbulent, gray life of New York. A good friend of mine who is a Porto Rican has said, "Years will pass, and Porto Rico from an aeroplane, as it were, will appear as one great commercial field under Yankee rule, with its workmen appearing as mere red and blue stripes with numbers on their backs, moving about in the coffee and sugar fields."

Concerning the beauty of the island and its adaptability for a vacation from gray New York, at least, we are in agreement with Magda Portal. What place of similar size has more charm than this little toy island, with its thirty-six hundred square miles of land and its fourteen hundred miles of fine roads running through gorgeous tropical country among mountains and valleys, along the sea coast, through orange groves and among plantations of sugar cane and tobacco; and everywhere, dominating all, the great towering royal palms?

Do not, dear reader, commit the unpardonable deed the author commits in this chapter of thinking of Porto Rico in terms of problems that leave out beauty. When you visit the island, let the forces of nature and antiquity weave their charm about you. Meet the people and learn from them the meaning of hospitality, courtesy, and native culture. When you get beyond these delightful Latin graces and begin to talk with them about their beloved Borinquen, as they call their land, then you will find their soul as well as stir their enthusiasm.

All of them believe that Porto Rico is to occupy a unique position as interpreter between Anglo-Saxon Americans and Latin Americans. The Commissioner of Education, for example, will present you with a copy of his novel written to show how the Latin and Anglo-Saxon civilization are being combined and the best from both worked out with Porto Rico as a laboratory. The principal characters in his novel are a Spanish father, a Porto Rican daughter, and a young man from the United States,

all representing the types of culture brought together since the occupation in 1898.

If you talk with the North American director of the Polytechnic Institute of San Germán, he will point out at once that Porto Rico is the center of a circle having a radius of a thousand miles and taking in the northern part of South America, Central America, the West Indies and part of the United States. This territory he gives as the field for his institute. With a combination of the Anglo-Saxon capacity for application and the Latin gift for dreaming dreams, he has developed a new type of school that follows a new type of culture, with students representing the richest and the poorest and coming from countries as varied as Venezuela, Central America, Santo Domingo, the Virgin Islands, Arabia and Holland, as well as from Porto Rico and the United States.

Talk with the head of the department of education of the university, a doctor of philosophy from Teachers College, New York, and he will tell you that the Porto Ricans are becoming a bilingual people, more than ever appreciating Spanish literature and at the same time gaining a good practical knowledge of English; that his own task is to combine the best influences in the public school system of the United States with the best influences of the Latin system.

Talk with the head of the theological seminary representing the Evangelical churches of Porto Rico. He will tell you interesting stories of how its graduates are going out to various surrounding countries, three of the best of them as pastors to Santo Domingo, others to Vene-

zuela, Cuba, Colombia, Costa Rica, and New York City.

Talk with the political leaders about the future of their country and they will tell you that what Porto Rico needs is not the status of the old-time territory or even of statehood at the present time, but that here is an opportunity for working out a different scheme from any that either our own or the British government has yet found for the development of a dependency into a full participant in the life of a nation. Everywhere it is enthusiastically claimed that little Porto Rico has a special mission—in education, in government, in culture, and in religion; that she must contribute something new to life on the American continent.

There is just ground for such enthusiasm as this. Nevertheless a great new combination of social and moral forces must be set to work soon if the joint experiment of North America and Latin America in Porto Rico is not to end in tragedy.

VIII

CONQUISTADORES OF TODAY

"What shall I say, brave Captain, say
If we sight naught but seas at dawn?"
"Why, you shall say, at break of day,
Sail on! Sail on! Sail on! and on!"

—Joaquin Miller.

In the Plaza Mayor of Santo Domingo City, that sacred spot in the drama of modern civilization in the act of taking possession of a new continent, stands a noble statue of Columbus. At the side of the pedestal of marble which sustains his figure stands another figure, that of an Indian, life-size, who seems to be pulling himself up to touch the feet or gaze into the countenance of the great discoverer. The Admiral himself, with one arm upraised, is looking wistfully over space toward some unrealized or uncomprehended objective. What was it?

Of one thing we may be sure, since his voluminous correspondence reveals so clearly his inner life, and this is that his thought had something to do with an ever present religious passion. He was mindful of the significance of his name Christopher, the bearer of Christ. He was consumed with the idea of Christianizing the Indians. Furthermore, in the journal of his first voyage we are told: "He trusted in God that when he returned from Spain, according to his intentions, he would find a ton of gold

collected by barter by those he was to leave behind, and that they would have found the mine and spices in such quantities that her sovereigns would, in three years, be able to undertake and fit out an expedition to go and regain the Holy Sepulchre."

Four hundred years later President Coolidge declared with equal fervor: "The legions which she [the United States] sends forth are armed not with the sword but with the cross. The higher state to which she seeks the allegiance of all mankind is not of human but of divine origin. She cherishes no purpose save to merit the favors of Almighty God."

Both utterances were no doubt sincere. But Columbus and his men found that the language of their firearms made more impression on the natives than the sermons of their missionaries; and today, however much we may believe that our legions are armed "not with the sword but with the cross," can we reasonably expect modern Haitians and Nicaraguans, when bombs are dropped upon their territory from Christian airplanes, to feel very differently from the way Chief Hatuey felt when he replied to the exhortations of the priests, "If there are any Christians in heaven, I do not want to go there"?

The spectacle of superior civilizations through four hundred years offering a religion to the people of the West Indies and at the same time exploiting them politically and commercially, should be enough to show us the impossible handicap of religion under such conditions. It is no wonder that Christianity has made so little advance in these islands since its introduction in 1492. And today as

then, although methods have been refined, are not all governments still inclined to protect citizens who bring back riches, with the same enthusiasm with which they silence those who attack consequent abuses?

The islands of the West Indies have always suffered from being small entities on the highway between great rival powers. Columbus thought their riches might enable Spain to conquer the Holy Land. Spain soon came to regard the islands as steps to the rich mainland. England and Holland and France wanted them as naval bases for increasing their power in the new world. The United States regards their control as necessary to protect the Panama Canal. Just as England and France had relied on the rich plantations to replenish their national wealth, so during the World War the United States and the rest of the Allies looked upon them as the source of the indispensable sugar. What the capacities of the people themselves are it is impossible to say, because the life of the islands has always been dominated from the outside, for the purposes of other peoples.

This does not mean that the West Indies have not received many contributions from the outside world. We might say, speaking in the large (and here as in all general statements the reader will deal indulgently, we trust, and not too drastically condemn because of many evident exceptions), the Spaniard contributed dignity and ceremony, noble architecture, worship of beauty, and the faith of Catholicism. The British brought capital, commerce, docks, railroads, sugar mills, colonial organization, a system of common schools, and the faith of Protestantism.

The French brought political philosophy, literature, the Napoleonic code, intellectual and spiritual iconoclasm, and the intelligent enjoyment of leisure. The Negro added song, religious fervor, herb doctors, and an incurable happiness. The United States of America has brought sanitation, good roads, modern machinery, mass agricultural production, religious liberty, and emphasis on honesty and efficiency in administrative finance.

Many believe that these contributions of ours are sufficient. Says Samuel Crothers in *The Romance and Rise of the American Tropics:* "No one doubts the benefit of health and wealth. These are the only forces of moment in the new empire. They are omnipotent forces, and so the empire must go on a-building." These final words of the book represent the author's benediction, after a visit through the tropics, on the American invasion. Unfortunately such pronouncements are exactly the kind the Latin Americans quote when they condemn us for bestowing our improvements and taking away their liberty in return.

The Latin American is afraid that the foreigner is going to take away from him the greatest of his possessions. He knows he has not equalled the Anglo-Saxon in establishing democratic processes, in developing a socially minded citizenship, in achieving orderly government, in organizing great commercial concerns. But he believes that he possesses a certain sense of idealism, a certain universality and aristocracy of spirit, which to him are the most valuable of all possessions. It is his fear of being robbed of these, more even than his fear of political absorption, that makes

the best of his group watch with such trepidation the encroachment of the very different culture of the United States.

We have taken over Porto Rico, and she may admit with us that there are certain advantages in living under our flag. But having taken her land, will we take her soul? We are teaching her commercial English, but will we cause her to forget her classic Spanish? These are the questions which her finest citizens are asking. We are directing Haiti's government, admittedly with greater efficiency and with less graft than her politicians directed it. But will we, with the efficiency of our American military occupation, reshape Haiti's educational processes to eliminate her sense of the mysterious, her instinctive pathos, her hold on happiness in spite of pain, her belief in the destiny of a black people?

We have generously thrown our great strength into securing Cuba's freedom; we have guaranteed her independence against foreign aggression; we have furnished millions for developing her sugar factories and her tourists' resorts. Does that mean that the Cuban government is to be relieved of the responsibilities of its own follies, that dictators are to oppress their people as they like because the United States opposes revolts which disturb business, that Cuban youth are to find substituted for their old Latin ideals the new ones of the movie and night club, that adults are to be judged only by the efficiency standards of banks, mills and automobiles?

We have built roads for the Dominicans, but does that mean that we will banish all except the owners of high-

powered cars from the highways, and so speed up processes and so litter up roads with signposts that the poetry and beauty of a culture which has made the Dominicans noted since the founding of their first university will be no more? "When I am most discouraged with the growing commercialism of today," says Garcia Godoy, "when I see the great North American people advancing their influence over the soul of those of our blood and our speech, then in the starry night I find comfort in talking with the spirit of Bolívar, when rumors fall away and only the thoughts of the soul remain in the depth of conscience."

What are the things that make Spanish Americans, with all their divergencies, hold together? It is not the Pan American Union, for few Latin Americans are conscious of its existence. It is not commerce, for these countries have few business dealings with one another. It is not fear of Europe, for today they have none. It is not common political interests, for actions at Pan American conferences and on other occasions show that such interests differ widely. It is not religion, because the great majority of leaders in these lands deny allegiance to any organized religion. It is none of these; it is language which unites Spanish America—language and literature, an influence which means more to the Spanish-speaking people than to almost any other in the modern world. Deep, very deep, was the sentiment behind the demand of Havana school teachers recently that Spanish should be the language whenever language was employed in the moving pictures shown in that city.

Inheritance from poets like Heredia and martyrs like

Martí cannot easily be eliminated from the consciousness of a people. Talking with me recently as we journeyed from New York to Havana, a Cuban student told how dissatisfied he was with his life now that he had secured an education in the United States and found himself out of touch with the thought life of his *patria*. His temptation was to stay in the United States and engage in business, but that would have been a complete reversal of the ideals held before him since early youth. We must not fail to realize that the salvation for Cuba is that young men of this type shall win out in their struggle toward such ideals.

A few months before writing these lines I was in Porto Rico. The island had been desolated by a terrible hurricane, and many people were hungry. But the moving picture houses were crowded, some having reduced the admission price to as low as three cents. The streets were filled with automobiles, the more privileged people gave many signs of extravagance. Gambling and drinking seemed to be on the increase, and modern methods of debauchery such as Porto Rico had never known were everywhere in evidence. There was much excitement over politics—corruption in the legislature, combinations between politicians and great modern corporations, the new problems introduced by universal suffrage. Every thoughtful person felt that the situation was ominous.

I went into a bookstore to find something that would help me analyze conditions. When I asked for Porto Rican literature on social problems, the clerk did not seem to understand. I explained further, but still he looked

blank. I insisted that Porto Ricans must have written something in the last ten or fifteen years about the great social problems the island was facing, but the clerk here, and later clerks in other stores, answered that there was nothing. Nor could I get any kind of Porto Rican book on a philosophical or idealistic subject. How have the mighty fallen since the days of de Hostos and Betances!

And where are the Dominicans of the present day who are taking the place of Garcia Godoy, Henríquez y Carvajal, Doña Salomé Ureña? In Santo Domingo the ordinary bookstore is one of the saddest places you can find. There are a few novels, mostly translations from the French emphasizing sex, and various ancient works on philosophy. An interesting custom prevails of advancing the price of a book in proportion to the time it has been kept in the store; thus if a volume sells for four dollars this year it will bring five dollars next, and so on. If any remark could be made about bookstores in Haiti, it would be that they are still worse than those in Santo Domingo. Havana has some of the finest bookstores in the Latin world, but where are the great writers of Cuba today? Who can be mentioned as a substitute for Martí, Luz Caballero, and the long series of Cubans who were among the most inspired *literati* of the past? If it be remarked that the same decadence is taking place in other parts of the world, the reply is that near-by countries like Mexico, Costa Rica, Salvador and Colombia do not show a similar drop from former literary idealism.

The greatest present danger facing the Caribbean is that the people shall be robbed of the best they have—love of

beauty, of poetry, of idealism, of contentedness—and given in return only a desire for material prosperity (we can scarcely expect that they will attain more than the desire itself). A frank acknowledgment by West Indians of inferiority to others in certain respects ought not to lead them, as some of them have been led, to assume that they are inferior in all respects. The foreigner who knows himself to be dominated by his own belief in the superiority of material prosperity should be the first to point out to the prosperous the balance of virtues.

Is it not time that we should frankly declare a policy toward the West Indies of developing these peoples along their own lines? Thus we would answer rightly the poignant question put by James Weldon Johnson:

> How would you have us, as we are,
> Or sinking 'neath the load we bear?
> Our eyes fixed forward on a star,
> Or gazing empty at despair?
>
> Rising or falling, men or things?
> With dragging pace or footsteps fleet?
> Strong, willing sinews in your wings,
> Or tightening chains about your feet?

We of the United States should recognize our extraordinary moral responsibilities to the West Indies, fundamentally different from any we might admit for any other part of the world. Our interpretation of the Monroe Doctrine has increasingly meant the depriving of these islands of help from those other parts of the world from which they might ordinarily expect it. Let us observe the effect of this policy in a special instance. The tendency on the

part of British missionary organizations now is to turn over to North American agencies work that they have sustained for centuries. European nations holding territory in the West Indies are tending to reduce their already waning philanthropic work, inasmuch as islands that fly the European flag have nevertheless become so identified economically with the United States as to suggest to others that when we assume privileges we should assume also responsibilities. There is constant expression of opinion that Europe should transfer all her Caribbean possessions to the United States. Many statesmen have emphasized the economic basis for this detached attitude on the part of other powers by stressing the identification of financial interest between the United States and the Caribbean. As President Taft made clear:

It is obvious that the Monroe Doctrine is more vital in the neighborhood of the Panama Canal and the zone of the Caribbean than anywhere else. . . . It is therefore essential that the countries within that sphere shall be removed from the jeopardy involved by heavy foreign debt and chaotic national finances and from the ever present danger of international complications due to disorder at home. Hence the United States has been glad to encourage and support American bankers who were willing to lend a helping hand to the financial rehabilitation of such countries.

The responsibilities of the United States in the Caribbean are plainly overwhelming. The main subject of conversation, day in and day out, of the serious-minded people of those countries is just these relations. In Cuba, at breakfast, lunch and dinner, it is how to interpret the Platt

Amendment; in Haiti it is when the marines will leave; in Santo Domingo it is whether the marines will return; in Porto Rico it is whether the status will be statehood or independence. In many ways Washington is considered almost as the capital of each of these countries.

When I started out to write this book I planned to make it a human story with little reference to the debatable questions related to the United States' intervention in the Caribbean. But on retracing my steps in the islands, I could not get away from the overwhelming influence of the United States in regard to every question, spiritual or material, that concerns them. And I am certain, in common with all students of the world as it is, that spiritual questions cannot be faced without recognition of the economic facts that condition the everyday life of the people, that are at the very root of the way human beings think and feel and what their behavior is.

In the year before our war with Spain, which so enlarged our dominance of the Caribbean, two important books were published in the United States. One had a spiritual theme and caused a veritable sensation among the Christian people of the country. Its circulation ran into a million. All the world was discussing *In His Steps,* by Dr. Charles M. Sheldon. The other work was a rather technical treatise, read by a limited circle; Admiral Mahan's *The Interest of America in Sea Power.* One book stirred millions of Americans with the appeal to carry the spirit and teachings of Christ into every relation of life. The other put forth a theory of naval strategy—that the United

States, for the protection of the proposed Panama Canal, should control every approach to that canal in the whole Caribbean Sea. Which of these books, think you, has most affected the life and happiness of the people in Cuba, Haiti, Santo Domingo and Porto Rico? The author of the present lines cannot help but believe that the theories of Admiral Mahan, definitely carried out in the continuous policy which controls for our own national safety each of these islands, has had far more to do with the spiritual life of these people than have the ideals in Dr. Sheldon's book; and yet an influence like the one of *In His Steps* should have made the Christians of the United States project an unselfish and vigorous influence into the new relations we were assuming with those countries. The strategic policy of the United States as to the protection of the Panama Canal means that as long as present naval rivalries continue, this country will insist on controlling, directly or indirectly, the canal's every approach. As long also as the present policy of the protection of property of its citizens in a foreign land is maintained, an additional condition is present which affects every part of the life of the West Indies. A careful student of this problem, Dr. Isaiah Bowman, Director of the American Geographic Society, makes the observation:

"Every importation of capital in such a case sets up all sorts of complex reactions. It affects the social life, it arouses jealousies and fears, it invokes the idea of aggression and deep-laid territorial designs, and it lends itself to real exploitation and the sense of wrong that follows exploitation even among primitive people. Added

to these barriers to friendship are the wide-reaching effects of contact between different races and civilizations. Though the management of its relations to Latin American nations is one of the greatest problems of the United States, no headway at all has been made toward its basic solution, with the single exception of our extension of the benefits of public hygiene through the medical service of one of our largest philanthropic foundations. Successive national administrations take up the Latin American question only to end with an official visit and much trumpeting forth of good will. If the present processes continue unchecked, we shall have the case of Mexico repeated in other countries where we are making heavy investments."

Yes, as President Taft declared—our government has been glad to uphold our bankers in the work of financial rehabilitation of these countries. But how far have we been willing to lend the same support to teachers, nurses, preachers, social workers, for the peoples' spiritual rehabilitation?

We have already intimated the meagerness of Christian work in the various islands. The Christian forces have not built a single school of college grade in all the West Indies, nor a single outstanding agricultural or trades school, though in all this area the people's happiness so largely depends on progressive farming and on work with their hands. Cuba, where United States investors have the largest financial interest they have in any country except Canada, does not have one single hospital erected by our generosity. The Rockefeller Foundation has contributed widely to certain endeavors for public health, especially for

the eradication of hookworm. Columbia University has recently helped to establish a school of tropical medicine in San Juan. The Carnegie Corporation gave quarter of a million dollars to the outstanding Christian school in the Caribbean, the Polytechnic Institute in Porto Rico. North American Protestanism, since its entrance following the Spanish-American War, has built slowly and with great struggle a few secondary schools and four hospitals, three of which are in Porto Rico, and its churches now have some sixty thousand members out of a total population of eight millions in the four countries. But this movement has yet to be stirred by a strong social passion, the vision of a nation-wide program affecting all departments of life, and a united organization powerful enough to overcome the besetting evils of division among the parts.

Optimistic though we may be concerning the actual work of Christian forces, we must admit that they seem very frail in their equipment for confronting the problems presented: the economic dominance of a country by foreign investors, the impact of machine invasion on a visionary type of culture unprepared to assimilate the mechanistic without sacrificing the spiritual, and the color problem, not only in Haiti but increasingly carried by North Americans into every part of the Caribbean. How can these forces, now often hostile, be operated as allies? Without the analogy's being pressed too far, is there not something suggestive, for those engaged in a fight against slavery to the machine, in the fight by which human slavery was outlawed? There came a time when the prophetic element in the Christian church saw that spiritual freedom could

not be won as long as the law permitted men to make other men slaves; and while the priestly element went on preaching the curse on Ham, the prophetic element started the crusade which ended in outlawing slavery the world around. Ever since that time the world has seen with increasing clearness the interdependence of economic life and social welfare. It has seen that not all slavery is of one kind, that the slave without wages, the chattel slave, has his successor in what commentators have called the wage, or economic, slave. The struggle to free and to dignify individual life must go on, no matter how difficult it is made by the material self-complacency that is the present affliction of our Western world.

The attitude of the United States government, in the process of reflecting the popular will, has shown a promising change in policy toward the Caribbean. There is too much awakened opinion now in the country at large, functioning through such organizations as the liberal press, the Federal Council of the Churches of Christ in America, the Foreign Policy Association, and the progressive group in the Senate, for any administration to expect to carry out as formerly semi-secret interventions and to hope by censorship of news sources to escape public criticism. It is not probable that any Secretary of State will again dismiss with such curtness as did Secretary Hughes in 1922 a distinguished group of lawyers calling to lay before him their views on the Haitian situation. Indeed Mr. Hughes himself has notably changed in attitude, recently working with Mr. Kellogg—still more notably changed—for a treaty of obligatory arbitration with the Latin American nations.

President Hoover's declarations against intervention have led the usually critical *La Prensa* of Buenos Aires to say:

"The message with which President Hoover opened Congress indicates his desire to abolish the North American policy of intervention. Mr. Hoover differs from other American Presidents in not proclaiming any God-given mission over the rest of the continent, nor that the continent is divided into two zones one of which is under the protection of the United States. Mr. Hoover does not explain the military occupation of Haiti and Nicaragua as resulting from any heavenly mission. . . . We are getting further and further away from those arrogant words of President Coolidge with which he declared the existence of a mandate under which the United States was to apply the so-called Monroe Doctrine as an excuse for military intervention in the internal affairs of weak Latin republics."

However independent in political status these Caribbean countries are allowed to become, they will for a long time be bound inseparably to the United States in the realm of economics. Here on the one hand is a wealthy, powerful, law-and-order-conscious nation, with capitalists seeking investments, manufacturers seeking markets, and promoters seeking prospects. Here on the other hand are near-by islands, economically, politically and educationally backward but possessing large physical resources, and with a population that includes a small group of brilliant intellectuals and a large body of people who for centuries have been impoverished by their own and foreign exploiters. They must accept practically any program the United

States proposes. The existing system takes it for granted that each sovereign state shall look first after its own interest by every means consistent with practical expediency, and it seems inevitable that men with lower standards should find opportunity to take advantage of the situation. Moreover, even men with high standards, when put into positions of responsibility, find it difficult to do the right thing in view of the generally accepted code under which they work.

While not for one moment implying that Latin Americans are free from many base forms of materialism, nor denying that our own people are deserving in many ways of the compliment paid by the philosopher Bergson during the war that the United States is the most idealistic people in the world, yet by and large the struggle presented on the American continent as far as international contacts are concerned seems to be between a practical, successful, machine-developed nation and an idealistic, economically dependent, individualized community. Now surely there is a way of directing, in the interest of the common good, our own practical, economic, and scientifically organized life for the protection of the liberty, idealism, and aristocracy of culture of these subordinate peoples. How?

In the first place, in regard to those territories where we have assumed political responsibilities, if we are not immediately to renounce such responsibility we ought to take it more conscientiously. The world has moved far since the war of 1914 in the matter of relationships between the great powers and those peoples for whom protectorates have been assumed. As instances of this attitude: The

British government has combined with the American Phelps-Stokes Fund and the International Missionary Council to send a commission to work out an educational policy for its colonies in Africa. The League of Nations, with its system of mandated territories, has revolutionized the philosophy of relationships between strong and weak peoples, and pronounces that the first duty of a controlling government is to promote the self-development of the people controlled. The International Labor Office has become probably the greatest center in the world for the scientific study and advocacy of programs to advance the interests of the peoples dependent on powerful governments.

But this attitude has not been characteristic of the relationships of the United States with the West Indies. By absenting ourselves from the League of Nations we keep Europe from any right of inquiry into our West Indies policy. By our declaration, as Secretary of State Hughes put it, that "the Monroe Doctrine is distinctly the doctrine of the United States, and the government of the United States reserves to itself its definition, interpretation and application," we effectively hold off other American states from official participation in any affairs of the Caribbean. Moreover, if other American states desire to discuss these matters in Pan American conferences we declare such discussion out of order, or argue that our presence in the countries as cited is not intervention but interposition.

Now interposition, the brief landing of foreign military forces at a time of disorder to protect the life and property of citizens of the country interposing, is recognized by in-

ternational law, for it supposes immediate withdrawal when the special purpose is accomplished. Apparently our policies in the occupation of Caribbean countries have all been opportunist, devised from day to day on the premise that an occupation was to be looked upon as an interposition. Thus we have set up no colonial office or any other agency to even admit that we were "as other men," or as other governments with overseas dominions. Yet the incidental landing of marines in Nicaragua in 1912 has stretched out into their continuous presence in that country—with the exception of a year's time—from that day to this. In Haiti our interposition—to protect the life and property of our citizens during the tumult connected with the murder of President Sam—has lasted for fifteen years. In Santo Domingo it lasted eight years. Porto Rico for twenty years after she became a United States possession was one of the very minor interests of the War Department. The interests of the Virgin Islands since their purchase in 1917 have occupied a small pigeonhole in the desk of a subordinate in the Navy Department.

Without feeling that anyone in particular has been to blame, it is easy to see how the United States has muffed the ball time and again since it entered the great game of taking up the white man's burden. If the United States is to maintain economic protection over the Caribbean it would be advantageous to have a more realistic recognition of our duties. If we hesitate to class ourselves openly with imperialistic countries by sustaining a colonial office, the alternative lies in joint action with associated nations, such as President Roosevelt used in inviting Mexico to

help him in Central American affairs, and President Wilson provided when he invited Argentina, Brazil and Chile to mediate between the United States and Mexico.

Our private industrial agencies have an opportunity to help our neighbors to readjust their life to the new industrialism so that they may profit by our mistakes. For example, San Juan is rapidly developing, under the direction of New York dealers in laces and dresses, a large industry in these materials as manufactured chiefly in the homes of individuals. A New York visitor to Porto Rico was presented with a lace dress there recently for the price the seamstress was paid by the wholesaler, two dollars. On returning home he saw the same dress displayed in a department store for thirty-two dollars. Seventy-five years ago New York City began this same practice of piece contracts, and developed in consequence the sweatshops and slum districts of the East Side with all their attendant evils. Porto Rico should be taught before she has paid the cost the character of the evils likely to develop, and helped to take measures for their prevention before life in the island has been honeycombed with selfish influences that will fight any reform. Industrialists from the United States extending their interests in the West Indies could do a large service if they would see that the representatives they send there had some degree of world outlook and were trained in the principles of social service as well as in their departmental subjects. Some of the great foreign companies have provided for better sanitation, housing and social conditions in their own properties, but if they would do their full duty to the peoples whose life they are so

changing, they should extend this influence beyond their own employees and assist in a general educational and socializing process which will assist the whole country toward adjustment.

Gabriela Mistral, of Chile, in an article in *La Nueva Democracia* made the following appeal:

How much the United States might do for us if she would agree to help us develop our industries without at the same time asking for special privileges. . . . If she would pay native labor on the same scale as American. If she would help in the task of raising the standard of life among our working people by means of a living wage, hygienic factories and mines, and the extirpation of drink and prostitution. If along with the loans so freely made to governments whose credit is not of the best, she would make a few definitely limited to the building of rural schools and better housing for working people . . . If for every hundred bankers and manufacturers whom she sends to us she would send at least ten choice educators . . . If she would develop a better type of journalism so that relations between our countries and the United States should not be constantly poisoned by sensation . . . If her thinking men, teachers, journalists and ministers, would earnestly seek to understand our people, different but not inferior to hers.

Much can be done, if they will undertake the task seriously enough, by such organizations as the International Labor Office, the Pan American Federation of Labor, and the Pan American Union. Christian forces especially have great opportunities. Little has been done by them so far in confronting the need for social adjustment. The Roman Catholic church in these countries has usually opposed such

of the new social and educational movements as are not under the church's control, but the Catholic Welfare Association of the United States has recently made a scientific survey of the West Indies which says, "The United States government should close the door it has opened in Haiti to establishment there of a network of American-owned plantations through which Haitian small farm owners will be turned into peons and day laborers, as has happened in other West Indian countries under American influence. The masses of the people are changed into landless, low-paid laborers and peons, working on plantations that are owned principally by Americans."

The young Evangelical church has established a few community centers where social questions are both theoretically discussed and practically solved, and Protestant leaders have been called in to advise labor unions and various community organizations. The Havana Congress asked for national social service commissions to be established in each country. The President of one of the Latin American countries ordered through an existing commission several hundred copies of the Spanish translation of the social creed of the Federal Council of the Churches of Christ in America. A special report on social movements made to the Congress on Christian Work held at Montevideo in 1925 attracted wide attention. That body asked the Committee on Cooperation in Latin America to furnish a specialist in social service to work among the socially minded people of Latin America for the purpose of studying and helping to solve the problems rising out of our industrial civilization.

Here before our eyes is taking place one of the most remarkable transformations of the ages. It is not going on by slow degrees, while machinery is being discovered and capital accumulated, as happened in Europe and North America. It is being developed by mass methods, by organized forces that know with scientific acumen how to speed the process. In the United States it has been possible to enlist the social scientists to build sanitary homes and schools, to work out health and labor regulations, and to develop school programs, by way of promoting the cultural and spiritual life of the people, just as it has been possible to enlist the engineer and financier in the process of transforming their physical life. Is it not possible to arouse forces to work for Latin America's spiritual transformation to the same extent that the industrialists are working for her economic transformation? Here indeed is the moral equivalent for military intervention in Mexico, in Nicaragua, and in other parts of Latin America.

In the very nature of the contrasts noted between the United States and the Caribbean, a strong and orderly government is greatly tempted to impose its life on the weak and disorderly one, with a particularly good opportunity for unscrupulous men of the strong country to buy, and of the weak countries to sell, concessions and monopolies. The complications are so many that it is difficult for even conscientious men to do the right thing, therefore the need is particularly evident for help from unselfish agencies that have no political or economic interests to serve.

Our little journey is ended. We began trailing the *conquistadores* in Santo Domingo. We have followed them—Spanish, British, French, Dutch, North Americans—in military enterprise or economic, through the islands and through the centuries. What other part of the world has been able to draw such daring adventurers, such romantic robbers, such eminent empire builders, such rich racial admixtures? By way of bidding them all good-by, let us return to Santo Domingo. As she inspired the first, she may inspire a newer and greater conquest, for she is planning to build the largest and most beautiful lighthouse in the world as a memorial to Columbus.

There are two world-famed monuments on the American continent which stand for the genius of its people. One is the Statue of Liberty in the harbor of New York, facing the old world to announce the discovery by the new world of political freedom and a representative republican form of government. The other equally famous statue is that of the Christ of the Andes, erected not where the race of men go by, but up on top of a lonely mountain pass to commemorate the peace between Argentina and Chile. The one represents the calm, calculating Anglo-Saxon balance of rights and duties; the other expresses the warm, impulsive Latin American idealism. To make America one, we need the blending of these ideas. Is not this exactly what Santo Domingo proposes in building this memorial light to Columbus? All the nations of America are contributing to make this memorial the most beautiful monument as well as the most powerful light in the world. We dare hope that the result will be symbolic of a

new combination of the best in Anglo-Saxon America and the best in Latin America that will illumine the ships of the newer *conquistadores* of the spirit as they cruise through the Caribbean and out over the seas of the world.

BIBLIOGRAPHICAL NOTES

Since in this brief volume every effort has been made to keep away from a scholastic or technical treatise, even to the extent of avoiding the footnotes and citing of authorities which any student would naturally prefer to make or to consult, the same principle suggests that the bibliography note only a few of the sources available, rather than a list of several hundred (several thousand could easily be supplied). Space is not available to cite the score of books consulted by the author on even a single subject; for example, in regard to the world awakening of the Negro. Moreover, most readers would not be helped by citation of the sources from which the author has chiefly drawn his information and judgments, sources which are in the tongue of Cervantes. Indeed, the limitations of a foreign tongue are a barrier to proper understanding in any case; how would we like it if Spaniards, for example, were to form their opinions concerning affairs in the United States without reading a single book written by an American citizen in the English tongue? What the author has done, therefore, is to call attention to a few sources that are accessible, and that appeal to the popular audience. Well prepared bibliographies will be found in a number of the listed books.

GENERAL CARIBBEAN AREA

For an outline of history, as well as reading helps, maps and charts for guidance to historical investigation, there is H. E. Bolton, *History of the Americas* (Ginn & Co., Boston, 1928); also H. L. Hoskins, *Guide to American History* (D. C. Heath & Co., New York, 1922).

The best interpretation of Latin American history, philosophy and literature in general, with a section on the Caribbean, is F. García Calderon, *Latin America, Its Rise and Progress* (Charles Scribner's Sons, New York, 1912). Two translations that reflect important Latin American viewpoints on Latin American attitudes toward the United States are Manuel Ugarte, *Destiny of a Continent* (Alfred A. Knopf, New York, 1925), and the charming lecture to Latin American youth by José Enrique Rodó, *Ariel* (Houghton Mifflin Co., Boston, 1922). English translations of Latin American poets are given by Alice Stone Blackwell, *Some Spanish American Poets* (D. Appleton & Co., New York, 1929).

The story of Spanish American literature is interestingly told by Alfred Coester, *Literary History of Spanish America* (Macmillan Co., New York, 1916). The best brief introduction to Latin American colonial life and present-day culture is William R. Shepherd, *Latin America* (Henry Holt & Co., New York, 1914). The Pan American movement from the days of Bolívar to Hughes is traced, with chapters on the Monroe Doctrine and social and political problems, by Samuel Guy Inman, *Problems in Pan Americanism* (Doubleday, Doran & Co., Garden City, N. Y., 1925).

The present relations between the United States and the Caribbean are excellently and briefly set forth in a little book which gives a factual statement, an argument in defense of and in criticism of the United States, by Chester Lloyd Jones, Henry Kittredge Norton, and Parker T. Moon, *The United States and the Caribbean* (University of Chicago Press, Chicago, 1930). A well-balanced and more extended statement, with a valuable citation of sources indispensable to students, is Charles P. Howland, *Survey of American Foreign Affairs* (Yale University Press, New Haven, 1929). Other important books dealing with this subject are: G. H. Stuart, *Latin America and*

the United States (Century Co., New York, 1928).—Charles E. Hughes, *Our Relations to the Nations of the Western Hemisphere* (Princeton University Press, Princeton, 1928).—R. C. Hill, *Roosevelt and the Caribbean* (University of Chicago Press, 1927).—Scott Nearing and J. Freeman, *Dollar Diplomacy, A Study of American Imperialism* (Viking Press, New York, 1925).—D. Y. Thomas, *One Hundred Years of the Monroe Doctrine* (Macmillan, 1920).—Chester Lloyd Jones, *Caribbean Interests of the United States* (Appleton, 1916).—Max Winkler, *Investment of United States Capital in Latin America* (World Peace Foundation, Boston, 1928). Valuable documents including material from the writings of Columbus and from the colonial period down to the more recent Pan American conferences, are contained in N. Andrew N. Cleven, *Readings in Hispanic American History* (Ginn, 1927).

Of the several histories of American diplomacy the one that most satisfactorily deals with the Caribbean relations is Carl Russell Fish, *American Diplomacy* (Holt, 1923).

The Foreign Policy Association Information Service gives invaluable brief surveys of contemporary situations, with historical background and bibliography; the following are especially recommended: *The United States and Latin America, A Suggested Program* (January, 1928).—*Mexico, the Caribbean and Tacna-Arica* (January 20, 1928).—*Problems of Porto Rico* (January 18, 1929).—*Cuba and the Platt Amendment* (April 17, 1929).—*American Occupation of Haiti* (November 27-December 12, 1929).

Some of the travel books which furnish local color and at times interesting bits of history are: Harry S. Franck, *Roaming Through the West Indies* (Century, 1920).—F. G. Carpenter, *Lands of the Caribbean* (Doubleday, Doran, 1925).—N. J. Davidson, *Romance of the Spanish Main* (J. B. Lippincott Co., Philadelphia, 1916).—H. LaT. Foster, *Caribbean Cruise,* and

Combing the Caribbees (Dodd, Mead & Co., New York, 1928). —S. Bonsal, *The American Mediterranean* (1912).—W. F. Jordan, *Crusading in the West Indies* (Fleming H. Revell Co., New York, 1922).—Jay S. Stowell, *Between the Americas* (Council of Women for Home Missions and Missionary Education Movement, New York, 1930).

Among books about the buccaneers, the original account from which most others are drawn is that written by a buccaneer himself, Jan Esquemeling, *Buccaneers of America* (E. P. Dutton & Co., New York, 1924). There are also C. Haring, *Buccaneers in the West Indies in the Seventeenth Century* (1910); and Howard Pyle, *Book of Pirates* (Harper & Bros., New York, new edition, 1921).

For the colonial period the best sources are of course in Spanish, but in English good studies are found, together with an elaborate critical essay on authorities, in E. G. Bourne, *Spain in America* (Harper, 1904). Among general histories on Latin America the most satisfactory for this period is William Spence Robertson, *History of the Latin American Nations* (Appleton, 1922). The best brief historical survey is William R. Shepherd, *Hispanic Nations of the New World* (Yale University Press, 1919).

CUBA

The best work on early Cuban history is Irene A. Wright, *Cuba* (Macmillan, 1910), and the best on the period since independence (with extensive bibliographical notes) is Charles E. Chapman, *History of the Cuban Republic* (Macmillan, 1927). A revealing study of American economic dominance in Cuba is L. H. Jenks, *Our Cuban Colony* (Vanguard Press, New York, 1928). Quite the best all-round reference book, including an excellent historical survey, is Thomas P. Terry, *Guide to Cuba* (Houghton Mifflin, 1927). A Cuban's view of the Platt

Amendment is given by Cosme de la Torriente in *Foreign Affairs* for April, 1930.

HAITI

There is more recent literature on Haiti than on any of the other West Indian islands. A splendid single volume, half of which is occupied with the period which includes the United States occupation, is H. P. Davis, *Black Democracy* (Dial Press, New York, 1928). A charming travelogue with important historical material is Blair Niles, *Black Haiti* (G. P. Putnam's Sons, New York, 1925). The story of the three Negro founders of the Haitian Republic is impressively told in J. W. Vandercook's *Black Majesty* (Harper, 1928). Another book much discussed, the accurateness of which is difficult to judge, is W. B. Seabrook, *The Magic Island* (Harcourt, Brace & Co., New York, 1929). United States intervention in Haiti is more amply treated than any other single event; full documentation is given in *Hearings Before a Selected Committee on Haiti and Santo Domingo,* United States Senate, Sixty-seventh Congress (Government Printing Office, Washington, 1921). Critical discussion of the occupation is contained in: Emily G. Balch, editor, *Occupied Haiti* (Writers Publishing Co., New York, 1927).—*Conquest of Haiti,* articles reprinted from and by the *Nation,* 1920.—A. G. Millspaugh, "Our Haitian Problem" in *Foreign Affairs* for October, 1929. The best book regarding the modern Negro is Alain Locke, *The New Negro* (Boni & Liveright, New York, 1925).

DOMINICAN REPUBLIC

Several references already given regarding Haiti contain material also on the Dominican Republic. The outstanding history in English is the magnificent two-volume work recently issued, Sumner Welles, *Naboth's Vineyard* (Payson & Clarke,

New York, 1928). A critical study of American occupation is given in M. M. Knight, *Americans in Santo Domingo* (Vanguard Press, 1928). A friendly attitude to the occupation is given in Carl Kelsey, *American Intervention in Haiti and the Dominican Republic* (Academy of Social and Political Sciences, Philadelphia, 1922). A single volume which gives practically all the important documents in reference to the occupation is Max Henríquez Ureña, *Los Yanquis en Santo Domingo* (Aguilar, Madrid, 1929).

PORTO RICO

There is less satisfactory literature, either in English or Spanish, on Porto Rico than on any other section of America. Among the more recent works are: J. Enamorado Cuesta, *Porto Rico, Past and Present* (Eureka Printing Co., New York, 1929).—Knowlton Mixer, *Porto Rico* (Macmillan, 1926).—*Survey of the Public Educational System of Porto Rico* (International Institute of Education, Teachers College, New York, 1926). An exhaustive survey on general conditions is to be issued in the summer of 1930 by the Brookings Institute, Washington. *El Libro de Puerto Rico* (El Libro Azul Publishing Company, San Juan, 1923) is a valuable reference book, printed in parallel columns, English and Spanish.

PAMPHLETS AND PERIODICALS

The Government Printing Office, Washington, publishes a large number of important pamphlets and books which usually can be secured at very reasonable price. Some of the more important of these are the annual reports of the High Commissioner of Haiti, of the Collector of Customs of Santo Domingo, of the Governor of Porto Rico, the Governor of the Virgin Islands. There are also the annual Commercial Travelers' Guide to Latin America, and Foreign Loans, Hear-

ings before a sub-committee of the United States Senate, Sixty-eighth Congress, S. Res. 22.

Files of the following magazines yield valuable material: *Hispanic American Historical Review; Current History; Bulletin Pan American Union; Foreign Affairs.*

S. G. I.

INDEX

Adams, John, 33, 110
Airplanes, new routes of, 49; attacks of, 196
Alexes, Nord, Pres. of Haiti, 114
Alonso, Luis, 75
America, Americans, *see* North Americans, United States, etc.
Anacaona, Queen of Jaragua Indians, 9, 10
Araquistain, Luis, 94
Atahualpa, Peruvian emperor, 12, 18, 21
Ávila, González de, 2
Aztecs, 16

Babcock, General, 26
Báez, Pres. of Dominican Republic, 139
Balboa, Vasco Nuñez de, 2, 17, 21
Baltimore *Sun*, quoted on loans, 141
Banks, United States, 60, 79, 82, 206
Barbados, 48, 92, 95
Bird College, Port au Prince, 126
Betances, Dr. Ramón Emeterio, 69, 70, 76, 202
Black Republic, possibility of maintaining a, 105
Bolívar, Simón, 35, 63, 112
Bonsal, Stephen, 32
Borno, Louis, Pres. of Haiti, 133
Bowman, Isaiah, director American Geographical Society, 206
Brookings Institute, survey of Porto Rico, 178
Buccaneers
–Drake, Francis, 6, 28, 29, 30, 44, 81; Hawkins, John, 28, 29; Lussan, Raveneau de, 26; Morgan, Henry, 43, 44; Esquemeling, Jan, 43; L'Olonnois, Francis, 30
Bustamante, Judge Antonio de, 54, 74

Camargo, Prof. Gonzalo Baez, 74
Candler College, Cuba, 57, 58, 93
Cap Haitien, 6, 107, 112, 113, 114, 116, 119, 120
Caperton, Admiral, 38, 45
Capital, *see* Investment; Loans
Caribbean policy of United States
–early outlined, 33, 36; enlarged following war with Spain, 37-40; various expressions of, 50-52; connected with Platt Amendment, 86-91; protection of Panama Canal, 38, 197; encouragement by American bankers, 204; strategy outlined by Admiral Mahan, 205; changing as result of criticism, 209; economic control of, 210; intervention problem, 212, 213; lacking continuity, 206, 213
Carnegie Corporation, gift to Polytechnic Institute, 186, 208
Cartagena, 17, 19, 30, 31
Casas, Padre de las, 2, 22, 28, 41, 42, 44
Catholics, *see* Church, Roman Catholic

Catholic Welfare Association, 216
Chadwick, Rear Admiral, 137
Charles I (Emperor Charles V), 3, 4, 11, 21, 42, 145
Christ of the Andes, statue, 218
Christianity, *see* Church; Evangelical movement; Christianity and exploitation
Christianity and exploitation, 25, 27, 40-44, 55, 75, 105, 160, 196, 197
Christophe, Henri, 108, 112, 113, 114, 120
Church, Evangelical, *see* Evangelical movement; Christianity
Church, Roman Catholic
—of Santo Domingo, 2-6; certain clergy oppose persecution of Indians, 10, 22; Columbus' zeal for, 20, 195; real governor of colony, 21; in Haiti, 125; opposes new movements, 216
Clay, Henry, instructs delegates to Panama Congress, 36
Cole, General Eli K., 116
Colombia, 47
Colón, Don Diego, 4, 5
Columbia University, 208
Columbus, 1, 4, 5, 6, 7, 10, 14, 20, 28, 45, 119, 136, 147, 195, 196, 197
Commercial enterprises of United States, 55, 78, 80, 96, 140, 145, 179
Committee on Cooperation in Latin America, 216
Conferences
—Panama, 1826, 35; Sixth Pan American, 54, 59; Evangelical Congress, 72, 76, 97, 216; Montevideo, 216; Jerusalem, 160
Conquistadores
—Ávila, González de, 2; Balboa, Vasco Nuñez de, 2, 17, 21; characteristics in general, 12-14, 20, 23; Cortés, Hernán, 1, 15, 18, 21, 23, 62, 81; Nicuesa, Diego de, 2, 16; Ojeda, Alonso de, 2, 8, 17; Pizarro, Francisco, 2, 17, 18, 21, 23; Ponce de León, 2; Soto, Fernando de, 2, 18, 81; summary of, 218
Coolidge, Calvin, 177, 181, 182, 191, 196, 210
Cortés, Hernán, 1, 15-16, 18, 21, 23, 62, 81
Cradle of America, 1, 20, 24, 64, 218
Cromwell, Oliver, 26, 43
Crooke, William, 43
Crothers, Samuel, 198
Crowder, General E. H., 82, 83, 84
Cuba
—early, independence opposed, 36; marines landed in, 89; Platt Amendment, 51, 84-88, 90-91, 99-101; area of, 53; proximity to U. S., 53; politics, 60; U. S. business interests in, 60; poverty, 61, 93; population, 66; interest in international affairs, 74, 91; importance of sugar to, 78, 89, 91; United States Equalization Board, 78, 79; rise in sugar prices, 78, 79; crisis of 1920-21, 81-84; Sugar Export Committee, 83; opposes loan, 85; U. S. interventions in, 86, 89-90, 91; seeks equality with other nations, 90; sugar output, 91; contract labor in, 93; comparison with Barbados, 95; importance in World War, 96; diversification of crops needed, 96; present problem, 96, 101; dominance of North American capital

in, 96-98; moral responsibility of U. S. to, 97-99
Curaçao, 32
Cuzco, 18

Dartignave, Philippe Sudre, 133
Dawes, Charles G., 151, 152
Dessalines, Jean Jacques, dictator of Haiti, 108, 111, 112, 113, 114
Diversified crops, need of, 77, 96, 172, 174
Dominican Republic, *see* Santo Domingo
Drake, Francis, 6, 28, 29, 44, 81
Drury, Philo W., 178

Economic conditions
–in colonies, 31, 32; West Indies, 50; Cuba, 55, 93; Porto Rico, 67, 171-177; Virgin Islands, 68; Barbados, 95; affected by foreign investments, 206, 207; in Santo Domingo, 166-168
Economic imperialism
–résumé of in West Indies, 25-28; advocated by North Americans, 33; defended, 33; criticized, 33, 75; in Cuba, 83, 90, 96-98; Haiti, 106, 114-117, 127-131, 135, 216; general effects of, 206, 207; in Santo Domingo, 139-143, 158-160; in Porto Rico, 174, 180, 181, 191, 194
Education, 19, 53, 56, 58, 66, 70, 102, 110, 113, 121, 129-131, 164, 178-181, 186, 193
El Santo Cerro, 7, 149
Emerson, Dr. Haven, 133
England
–ascribes conquest motive to religious attitude, 25; follows Spain, 25-26; becomes rival for Spanish Main, 28, 29; secures Jamaica and Trinidad, 32; criticizes U. S. policy, 33; criticized in *The Buccaneers of America*, 43; Africanizes Caribbean colonies, 94; contribution to West Indies, 197, 204
Esquemeling, Jan, 43
Evangelical movement
–in Havana, 56, 57; function of, 75; Havana Congress of, 72-76, 97, 216; in Haiti, 125-128; Dominican Republic, 153-165; Porto Rico, 184; discussion concerning purpose, 161, 162; community centers, 216; schools, 57, 58, 93, 126, 164, 186, 193; hospitals, 153-156, 183; union work within, 56, 57, 76, 163, 185
Evangelical Union of Porto Rico, 176, 185

Federal Council of the Churches of Christ in America, 209, 216
Ferdinand, King of Spain, 9, 16, 17, 23
Firmin, Antenor, 69
Foraker Act, 188
Foreign Policy Association, 209
Fortresses: Cartagena, 31; Havana, 31; San Juan, 31; Santiago, 31; Morro Castle, 53, 55
France
–war with Spain, 5; rival for Spanish Main, 28; religious motive in West Indies, 26; secures Haiti and Barbados, 32; cruelty in Haiti, 106, 107, 111; sells Louisiana to U. S., 111; driven out of Haiti, 109; Africanizes Caribbean colonies, 94; contribution to West Indies, 198
Franklin, Benjamin, 33

Godoy, Federico Garcia, Dominican author, 149-165, 200, 202
Gómez, José Miguel, Pres. of Cuba, 89, 90
Gómez, Maximo, 72
Gonaives, 121
Grant, Ulysses S., 37, 137, 139
Great Britain, *see* England
Grosvenor, General, 27
Guantanamo, 37

Haiti
–wins freedom in 1804, 111; U. S. intervention, 38; military force opposed in, 45; government, 51; population, 66; Black Republic, 66; progress slow, 66; Negroes' hope in, 67; drums, 103, 104, 106, 114; spirit worship, 104, 124; voodooism, 103, 104, 109, 110, 114, 115, 124; whites' excuse for slavery in, 105; slaves imported, 106; mulattoes, 106, 109, 112, 114, 133; cruelty of French, 106, 107, 111; martyrdom of Mackendal and Ogé, 107; revolts, 106, 109, 112, 116; slavery abolished, 109; French and English driven out, 109; Toussaint rules, 109, 110; Pres. Adams aids Toussaint, 110; Napoleon's failure in, 111; Dessalines, dictator, 111; Pétion leads revolt in south, 112; Christophe becomes king, 112; prosperity under Christophe, 113; Christophe kills himself, 114; presidents of republic, 114; exploited by foreigners, 114; beginning of political relations with U. S., 115; Fuller Mission, 115; U. S. assumes control, adjourns assembly, enforces adoption of constitution, 116, 117; race prejudice in, 117 134; country life in, 118, 119, 123; life of marines in, 120-122; cultural element, 123, 130; character of people, 123; Catholicism, 124, 125; present progress, 127; failure of U. S. in education, 130, 131; Negroes develop world consciousness, 132; helped by Negroes in U. S., 132; understanding by whites needed, 104, 133, 134; report of Hoover commission, 135
Harding, President, 83
Havana, 30, 53-59, 80
Hatuey, Indian chief, 25, 44, 196
Hawkins, John, 28, 29
Hayke, Juan B., Commissioner of Education, Porto Rico, 187
Health
–as relating to Indians, 7; *conquistadores*, 13; West Indies, 50; Virgin Islands, 68; Cuba, 86, 87, 93; Haiti, 106, 127; Santo Domingo, 153-156; Porto Rico, 169-170, 181-184
Henríquez y Carvajal, Federico, 69, 72
Henríquez y Carvajal, Francisco, Pres. of Dominican Republic, 62, 71, 202
Heredia, José María, 62-63, 100, 200
Heureaux, Ulises, dictator, 139
Holland
–becomes rival for Spanish Main, 28; establishes trading stations on St. Eustatius, Tobago, Curaçao, 32
Holly, James T., Negro clergyman, 125
Hoover, Herbert, 61, 99, 177, 210
Hospitals
–in Santo Domingo: Interna-

tional, 153-156; in Porto Rico: Presbyterian, 183; St. Luke's Memorial, 183; Ryder Memorial, 183
Hostos, Eugenio de, 69-70, 76, 202
Howland, Charles P., 44
Hughes, Charles E., 41, 44, 209, 212

Ibor, F. Martinez, 73
Idealism of Latin America, 55, 99-100, 149-151, 168, 198, 200, 211, 218
Immigration, restricted, 11; to mainland, 12; in respect of West Indies, 63, 176; Cuba, 53, 80, 94; Santo Domingo, 167
Imperialism, *see* Economic imperialism
Inca empire, 18
Indians
–Arawaks, 7; Caribs, 7; social life among, 7; persecution of, 6-11; exterminated, 11, 25; attitude of Queen Isabella toward, 9; forced conversion of, 21; women concubines, 21, 24; Padre de las Casas protests cruelty to, 22, 41, 42; mixture with Negroes, 24
Industrial conditions, 50, 214; *see also* Economic conditions, Labor, etc.
Inquisition, 21, 28
Intellectual leaders, modern, in West Indies
–Betances, Ramón Emeterio, 69, 70, 76, 202; Firmin, Antenor, 69, 71; Godoy, Garcia, 149-165, 200, 202; Henríquez y Carvajal, Federico, 69, 72; Henríquez y Carvajal, Francisco, 62, 71, 202; Heredia, José María, 62, 63, 100, 200; Hostos, Eugenio de, 69-70, 76, 202; Martí, José, 72, 100, 201, 202; Ureña, Max, 62; Varela, Felix, 100; Luz y Caballero, José de la, 100, 202; Ureña, Doña Salomé, 202
International Labor Office, Geneva, 212, 215
International Missionary Council, 212
Intervention by United States
–Senate debate on, 27; in Nicaragua, 38; in Haiti, 38, 71, 115-117; in Santo Domingo, 38, 140-144; enumerated by W. R. Shepherd, 38, 39; Senate hearing criticism, 44-45; in Cuba, 83, 85, 88; Pres. Hoover's declaration against, 210; attitude of international law toward, 212, 213; temptation to, 217
Investments of U. S. capital
–in Cuba, 77, 92, 96, 98; encouraged by Pres. Taft, 204; general effect of, 206-207
Isabella, Queen of Spain, 9, 23

Jamaica, 44, 92
Jefferson, Thomas, favors acquiring Spanish territory gradually, 33
Jenkins; War of Captain Jenkins' Ear, 31, 32
Jenks, Leland H., 27
Johnson, James Weldon, 203
Jones Act, 188-190, 192-194

Kiess, Edgar R., 177
King, Senator, 27
Knapp, Admiral, 38, 144
Knox, Philander C., 89, 90

Labor
–by Indians, 7; *conquistadores*,

13; Cubans, 55, 59, 80, 92, 95; in Virgin Islands, 68; Dominican Republic, 167; Porto Rico, 173, 174
Land problem, 67, 96, 129, 165, 216
Lansing, Secretary, 143
La Navidad, first permanent settlement, 6
La Prensa (Buenos Aires), quoted, 210
La Romana (Santo Domingo), 144
Latin American Evangelical Federation, 76
La Vega Real, 7, 148
League of Nations, 35, 72, 74, 91, 93, 212; *see also* International Labor Office
Leclerc, General, 110
L'Herisson, Pastor, in Haiti, 126
Lima, founding of (1535), 18, 19
Lindbergh, Colonel Charles A; pioneers Latin American air routes, 49; reports needs of Porto Ricans, 177; welcomed to Porto Rico, 187-188
Literature; as bond of unity, 200; decaying in West Indies, 201, 202
Loans
–to Cuba, 82-84; to Santo Domingo, 40, 140; to Santo Domingo by London, 139, by Dutch, 139; encouraged by Pres. Taft, 204; affecting social conditions, 206. *See also* Investment.
Lussan, Raveneau de, 26, 27
Luz y Caballero, José de la, 100, 202

Machado, Gerardo, Pres. of Cuba, 5
Machado, Luis, describes conditions of sugar workers, 93
Mackendal, slave and martyr, 106, 107, 120
Madariaga, S. de, Oxford professor, 134
Mahan, Admiral, 205, 206
"Manifest destiny," 53
Marines, U. S., life of in Haiti, 120-122; *see* Intervention; *also* United States
Martí, José, Cuban patriot, 72, 100, 201, 202
McKinley, President, 88
Mendoza, Pedro de, 19
Menocal, Mario García, Pres. of Cuba, 82, 89, 90
Mexico
–12; Montezumas, 1, 19; printing press introduced (1537), 19; capture of Mexico City, 16; war with U. S., 37; Heredia's work, 63, 64
Miller, Joaquin, verses quoted, 195
Mistral, Gabriela, Chilean poet, 161, 215
Missions, *see* Church; Evangelical movement
Monroe Doctrine
–enunciated in 1823, 34, 35; new interpretation by Pres. Roosevelt, 39, 140; Platt Amendment an extension of, 88; effect of on West Indies, 203, 204; vital in Caribbean, 204; Hughes' interpretation of, 212
Moral conditions; in colonies, 23; among buccaneers, 26; in Haiti, 106, 122, 125; Dominican Republic, 168; Porto Rico, 171, 201
Morgan, Sir Henry, 43, 44
Morrow, Dwight W., 84, 152

Mulattoes, 106, 109, 112; *see also* Slaves

National Association for Advancement of Colored People in United States, 132
Negroes
–imported from Africa (1518), 11; basic blood, 52; mixture with Indians, 24; Las Casas regrets importation of, 23; revolt in Cuba, 89; taken to Santo Domingo by Hawkins, 28; developing world consciousness, 131-132; effect of labor of, 93. *See also* ch. V
Nicuesa, Diego de, 2, 16, 17
Niles, Blair, author *Black Haiti*, 123
North Americans, *see* United States
Nouel, Canónigo, Archbishop of Santo Domingo, 2, 3, 40

Oddie, Senator, 27
Ogé, Vicente, 107, 120
Ojeda, Alonso de, 2, 8, 17
O'Neill, Eugene, 103
Ostend Manifesto 1854, 37
Ovando, Don Nicolas de, Gov. of Santo Domingo, 9, 10, 15
Owen, Commander, 26

Pacific Ocean, discovery of, 17, 21
Padín, José, Commissioner of Education, Porto Rico, 137
Palma, Pres. of Cuba, 88
Pan American Federation of Labor, 215
Pan American Union, 200, 215
Panama, 17, 18; first Congress of (1826), 35; Republic protectorate of U. S., 38
Peace of Ryswick (1697), 32
Perdomo, Dominican Minister at Washington, 143
Peru, 12, 29
Peters, Mason S., 27
Pétion, Alexandre, Haitian leader, 112
Phelps-Stokes Fund, 212
Philanthropic aid to West Indies, 98, 134, 207
Philip II, 21, 95
Pizarro, Francisco, 2, 17, 18, 21, 23
Platt Amendment, 37, 52, 61, 84, 85, 86-88, 90, 91, 99, 100, 101
Political relationship of U. S.
–to Virgin Islands, 51; Porto Rico, 51; Haiti, 51, 115; Cuba, 51; Santo Domingo, 51
Portal, Magda, Latin American intellectual, 191
Port au Prince, 65, 67, 112, 116, 119, 120, 122
Polytechnic Institute of San Germán, Porto Rico, 186, 193
Puerto Rico Evangélico, 170, 184
Ponce de León, 2
Pope Paul III, 4
Porto Rico
–acquired by U. S., 37, 51; political status, 51, 187-191; population, 66, 171; work of Betances in, 70; unemployment, 67, 170; undernourishment, 169-170; overpopulation, 67, 171-172; migration to New York, 172; sugar-growing, 172, 174; wages, 172, 173; educational problem, 173, 178; economic remedies proposed, 175-177; poverty of country people, 173, 174, 183; farm problem, 175; taxes, 175, 180; industries, 176, 177; interest aroused by hurricane, 177; commissions to, 177; per capita wealth, 177; number

of schools, 179; sugar interests protest statehood of, 181; commission asks for home rule, 181; tuberculosis, 181-182; infant mortality, 182-183; hookworm, 182; school of tropical medicine established, 182, superstitious remedies, 183; Department of Health's work, 182, 184; spiritual forces, 184-187; serious situation in, 201
Poverty in West Indies, 61, 93, 119, 123, 169-174
Printing press introduced in Mexico (1537), 19
Progress, material and spiritual compared, 46, 97-99, 127, 129, 165-168, 170, 171, 198-203
Protestantism, *see* Evangelical movement
Puerto Plata, 64, 147

Race problem; in West Indies, 52, 80, 94; interracial traits, 24, 123, 197, 198; in Haiti, 66, 77, 117. *See also* ch. V.
Repartimientos, 9, 15
Rippy, J. Fred, 33
Ríos, Fernando de los, 60
Rochambeau, General, 111
Rockefeller Foundation, 182, 207
Rodriguez, Herminio, 73
Roig, Dr. Emilio, 101
Roosevelt, President Theodore
–urges driving Europe from West Indies, 27; "I took the Canal Zone," 37, 142; interprets Monroe Doctrine, 39, 88, 140; appoints collector of customs, Santo Domingo, 142; invites Mexico's help in Central American affairs, 213
Roosevelt, Theodore, jr., Gov. of Porto Rico, 171
Root, Elihu, 88
Rotary Club, 54, 55
Russell, John H., High Commissioner in Haiti, 127
Russell, William W., U. S. Minister to Dominican Republic, 40, 45

Saint Marc, 121
Sam, Guillaume, Pres. of Haiti, 114, 115, 213
San Pedro de Macoris, 144
Sans Souci, Christophe's palace, 112
Santiago de Cuba, 61, 62
Santiago, Dominican Republic, 147, 148
Santo Domingo (Dominican Republic)
–first white colony in new world (Cradle of America), 1-2, 24, 136, 218; cathedral of, 3-6; Spain divides island with France, 5; *repartimientos,* 9; colonial government, 10; annexation proposed by Pres. Grant, 37; captured by Drake, 29; U. S. intervention in, 38; population of, 65; cruelties of occupation, 40; U. S. collection of customs, 38, 51, 65, 141-143; changes in government, 65, 139; work of de Hostos in, 69; richness of land, 136-138; area of, 137; Grant urges annexation, 137; invaded by Haitians, 138; returns to Spain, 139; annexation to U. S. opposed, 139; Roosevelt's new interpretation of Monroe Doctrine, 140-141; military occupation by U. S., 38, 143, 144; U. S. censorship in, 40, 149; present friendly relationship between

U. S. and, 151-152; Dawes Commission, 151, 152; Christian forces in, 153-157, 163, 164; spiritual and material elements, 158-162; educational experiment in La Cumbre, 164; danger of industrialism, 167
Santo Domingo City
–not first setlement, 6; description and monuments, 145, 195; proposed Columbus memorial, 218
Shelden, Charles M., 205, 206
Shepherd, William R., 38, 39
Slaves
–first imported (1518), 11; taken from Africa by Hawkins, 28; precedence over cathedrals and Indians, 32; factor in U. S. relations with West Indies, 34, 36; uprising of, 53, 106, 109; freed by French, 109: in Haiti, ch. V. *See also* Negroes, Mulattoes
Snowden, Admiral, 146
Social problems, 23, 96, 100, 129, 164, 167, 170, 173, 186, 206, 216
Soto, Fernando de, 2, 18, 81
Spain
–cedes part of Santo Domingo to France, 5; conquest affected by religious attitude, 8, 20, 21, 25; colonization started by, 10; excludes foreigners, 21, 28; struggle for supremacy in America, 29; plans defense of West Indies, 31; receives Ostend manifesto, 36; contribution to colonies, 45-46; Spanish American War, 37, 85, 89; contribution to West Indies, 197. *See also* Spanish America
Spanish America, cultural unity in, 59-60, 68, 200. *See also* Intellectual leaders
Statue of Liberty, 218
St. Eustatius, 32
Sugar
–cane introduced from Canary Isles, 11; early part in colonies, 31-32; England fights for, 31; importance during World War, 78, 96; importance in Cuba, 78, 89-91; in Porto Rico, 172
Sumner, Senator, 139

Taft, President, 190, 204, 207
Taylor, Alva, 74
Times, London, quoted, 33
Tobago, island of, 32
Toledo, Doña María de, 4
Torriente, Cosme de la, Pres. of League of Nations Assembly, 74
Tortuga, home of pirates, 30, 31, 119
Tourists in West Indies, 48, 49, 61, 77
Toussaint L'Ouverture, 108, 109, 110, 111, 113, 114
Towner, Gov. of Porto Rico, 171, 191
Treaty
–between U. S. and Haiti, 38; of Paris, 85, 191; between U. S. and Dominican Republic, 143; Peace of Ryswick, 32
Trinidad, 44

Union Theological Seminary, Porto Rico, 163, 185
United States in the Caribbean
–economic interest in West Indies, 26-27; war with Spain, 26-27; comes into possession of Porto Rico, 37; contribution to West Indies, 46, 198; attitude toward independence of Cuba,

Porto Rico and Santo Domingo, 34; lands marines in Santo Domingo, 1916, 38, 65; marines in Haiti, 1915, 38, 121; marines in Nicaragua, 1912, 38, 213; political relationship with Virgin Islands, Porto Rico, Haiti, Cuba, Santo Domingo, compared, 51; influence in Cuba, 57-60; misunderstanding between Latin America and, 75; moral responsibility in West Indies, 97 *seq.*, 203; collects customs in Santo Domingo, 141, 142; secures control of all passages to Panama Canal, 142, 197; influence in West Indies of, 37, 204-205
Universities
–Santo Tomás de Aquino (1539, Santo Domingo), 19, 145; San Marcos (1553, Lima), 19; Córdoba (1613, Argentina), 19; Sucre (1623, Bolivia), 19; Cuzco (1692, Peru), 19; of Havana, 56; of Porto Rico, 182; equipment of, 5
Ureña, Doña Solomé, 202
Ureña, Max Henríquez, 62

Valdivia, Pedro de, 19
Vandercook, author *Black Majesty*, 107
Varela, Felix, 100
Velásquez, Diego, 2, 15, 62, 92
Virgin Islands
–population of, 67; purchased in 1917, 38, 67; government of, 51; conditions in, 68; area of, 68
Voodooism, 103, 104, 109, 110, 114, 115, 124

Washington, Booker T., 132, 164
Washington, George, visits West Indies, 48
Welles, Sumner, 151
West Indies
–religious motive in conquest of, 25-26; early problem for U. S., 34-36; Monroe Doctrine in, 35; natural beauty of, 48-49; Negro population, 52; types of white settlers, 52; location strategic to U. S., 197; contributions of Spain, England, France, the Negro, and United States to life of, 197-198; fear of Anglo-Saxon culture, 198; united by language, 200; greatest danger to, 202-203; moral responsibilities of U. S. in, 37, 203-205; bound economically to U. S., 210; industrial opportunity and transformation, 214, 217
Wiggam, Albert E., 133
Wilson, President, 143, 214
Wood, Leonard, 86

Young Men's Christian Associations, 56, 73, 93, 117, 146
Young, Evan E., 151

Zayas, Alfredo, Pres. of Cuba, 82-84, 89

Date Due
FEB 3 '56
FEB 17 '56
MAR 1 '56
JUN 15 1995
AUG 21 2004
PRINTED IN U. S. A.
Trujillo
HONDURAS
NICARAGUA
Managua
Bluefields
COSTA RICA
San Jose
Canal Zone
Colon
Panama
Gulf of Darien
Baracoa
Guantanamo
Cartagena
COLOMBIA

The CARIBBEAN ISLANDS
Scale in Miles
0
100
300
400
70°
65°
60°
25°
20°
15°
10°
TURKS I.
Cap Haitien
Monte Christi
Nicolas
Trou
Puerto Plata
Santiago
Moca
San Francisco de Macoris
Santa Barbara
Bay of Samara
La Vega
Cotui
Hinche
St Mare
DOMINICAN REPUBLIC
Seibo
Banica
Azua
Santo Domingo
Port au Prince
Barahona
La Romana
San Pedro de Macoris
Aguadilla
Mayaguez
Arecibo
San Juan
Santurce
Rio Piedras
Fajardo
Humacao
Ponce
San German
MONA
PORTO RICO U.S.
VIRGIN ISLANDS U.S.
CULEBRA
TORTOLA Br.
ST. JOHN
ST. THOMAS
VIEQUES
Christiansted
ST. CROIX
Frederiksted
ST. EUSTATIUS Du.
ST CHRISTOPHER Br.
NEVIS Br.
ANTIGUA Br.
MONTSERRAT Br.
GUADELOUPE Fr.
DOMINICA Br.
MARTINIQUE Fr.
ST. LUCIA Br.
BARBADOS Br.
ST. VINCENT Br.
GRENADA Br.
TOBAGO Br.
TRINIDAD Br.
Port of Spain
LEEWARD ISLANDS
WINDWARD ISLANDS
LESSER ANTILLES
CURACAO Du.
La Guaira
Caracas
VENEZUELA

F1608 .I57
Trailing the conquistadores / by Samuel
Princeton Theological Seminary–Speer Library
1 1012 00137 3515